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THE WAYAO OF NYASALAND

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In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1910,[1] there appeared under the title of "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," observations made by me on natives around the southern end of Lake Nyasa. These notes referred largely to the *Anyanja* people. Since then I have been stationed for several years at Zomba in the Shiré highlands of Nyasaland (late British Central Africa) and the present paper relates to the native peoples living in that vicinity, Machinga Yao. Many analogies in the customs of these two tribes will become obvious on comparing the present paper with that referring to the *Anyanja*. It seems probable that most of these customs have a common origin and have evolved along similar lines, though in some instances, there is evidence that one tribe has adopted a custom from the other. The problem in many cases is very difficult to solve but where any evidence of value on such points is forthcoming, it is mentioned.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for help in the preparation of this article to Dr. Meredith G. Sanderson for his assistance in etymology and for the rendering of many Chiyao words, to Mr. E. F. Colvile for aid in working [illegible], and to Thomas Chenaga, a native hospital assistant, for invaluable help in getting to the bottom of many customs. The very beautiful photograph of the *Chiny' unyago'* [illegible] dance (Pl. I) was taken by Dr. J. B. Davey of the East African Medical Service and is with his kind permission here reproduced.

Introduction. Concerning the ethnology of the peoples of Nyasaland, little has been written. Officials have, for the most part, been uncommunicative, and the large body of missionaries has taken slight advantage of the unique opportunities for study which early occupation of the country and close connection with its people offered them. In the case of the Yao, however, there are two brilliant exceptions, the Reverend Duff Macdonald[2] whose *Africana* remains an authoritative exposition of the customs of the Yao around Blantyre, and the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick,[3] author of the standard work on Yao linguistics.[4] Apart from these, some information can be gleaned from Livingstone's[5] account of his travels, from the writings of Sir H. H. Johnston,[6] and the Hon. H. L. Duff,[7,8] and from Miss Werner's[9] popular book written after a short stay in the Protectorate. Other references to the Wayao are too scanty to be of value.

For information concerning the Wayao of German East Africa, the reader is referred to Dr. Fülleborn,[10] and to the published results of an ethnological research expedition to the

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[1] H. S. Stannus, "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," Journ. Anth. Inst., vol. 40, 1910, p. 285-335.

[2] Duff Macdonald, Africana or the heart of heathen Africa, London, 1882.

[3] Alexander Hetherwick, A handbook of the Yao language, London, 1902.

[4] Since these notes were made in 1910-1912, Dr. M. G. Sanderson has published a Yao grammar and intends shortly to follow it with a Chiyao dictionary.

[5] David Livingstone, Narrative of an expedition to the Zambesi and its tributaries and of the discoveries of the lakes Shirwa and Nyasa, 1858-1864, London, 1865.

[6] H. H. Johnston, British Central Africa, London, 1897.

[7] H. L. Duff, Nyasaland under the foreign office, London, 1903.

[8] Now Sir Hector Duff, K. B. E., C. M. G.

[9] A. Werner, The natives of British Central Africa, London, 1906.

[10] F. Fülleborn, Das deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet, Land und Leute, nebst Bemerkungen über die Schire-Länder, Berlin, 1906.

114 southern part of that territory by Dr. Karl Weule. I have not had access to Weule's official reports but judging from Miss Werner's translation of his popular edition,[1] the book shows a good deal of evidence of inaccurate information, or perhaps it would be better to say, evidence of want of extensive observation, and all the strictures which his translator passes upon the book[2] are well deserved. I am inclined to think that much of what Weule describes in connection with various tribes including the Wayao bears witness to considerable modification by intermixture, and it may be interesting to compare his account of Yao customs with my own.

Duff Macdonald,[3] then, remains the one author whose writings are of value to the student of the Wayao of Nyasaland, and one cannot help feeling that the ethnological character of his book suffers from the attitude which he, in common with most missionaries, takes in regard to many native customs. I believe that if missionaries, instead of turning away their faces in horror, had regarded these practices with an open mind, they would have found that their veiled statements were exaggerations of the truth, and that the old social code of the Yao native would compare favorably with the order of things in most civilized countries.

Morals are after all only the laws that regulate the social welfare of a community and there can be no theoretically perfect code of morals which does not take into consideration the living conditions of the community to which it is applied. Before the ties of custom which bound their social system were cut by European government and missionary influence, I think the natives of Nyasaland sinned against their code of morals comparatively seldom. The present time is one of transition. Freed from old customs and beliefs, and with nothing of equal strength to take their place, the younger generation of natives has suffered and only time with just rule and efficient education can raise them to the higher moral standard which European influence strives to impose upon them.

The old order is passing rapidly and I therefore make no apologies for recording my observations, since the time will soon come when the things I speak of will be entirely forgotten. I find I have gone over much of the ground covered by Macdonald, but in most cases, I believe that I can add many details which may be of value to ethnologists.

101 **Divisions and History of the Wayao.** In regard to the question of tribal names, I think it is perhaps better to reserve the word *Wayao* to denote the whole Yao family and give to each section of the tribe the designation by which it is known to all its members. Thus the name Amangochi should be applied to the Yao people settled around Blantyre, while the Yao about whom I shall speak belong to that branch of the tribe known as Amachinga, now living near Zomba under their chief, Malemya. These two sections, together with a third, to the north, the Amasaninga, contain all the Yao of Nyasaland. (Pl. IX)

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[1] Karl Weule, Native Life in East Africa, tr. by Alice Werner, London, 1909.

[2] Ibid., p. [illegible]

[3] Op. cit.

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That these several sections of the Wayao differ in many respects may be seen by comparing the Amangoche of *Africana*[1] with the Amachinga of this article. 114 I am not sufficiently conversant with the Amangoche to make a definite statement on this point but I am 184 inclined to believe that after longer residence and wider knowledge, Macdonald would have found that some of his statements needed revision. Those whom he considered the "Yao proper" but whom I prefer to speak of as the Amangoche seem to have a considerable mixture of Anyanja, since their language contains many Chinyanja words and many [197] of their customs are practically those of the Anyanja. I am of the opinion that the Amachinga may be regarded as more typical of the Wayao, and except when ambiguity might arise, I shall speak of them as the Yao.

The original home of this Bantu speaking people is uncertain; in historic times all the 175 sections of the Wayao were originally grouped in that part of Portuguese East Africa around the hill called Chao, whence they probably derived their name, *Wa Chao* or *Wa* 167 *Yao*. About the middle of the nineteenth century, as the result of inroads by neighboring 648 tribes of Alolo from the southeast, and raids by the Makwangwala, a branch of the Angoni of Zulu origin, from the northwest, disruption of the Yao people occurred, and the divisions mentioned above, moved toward Nyasaland. The Masaninga branch settled for the most part along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa but a sub-section known as Tambala Yao reached the west side of the lake. The Machinga made a settlement near Lake Chiuta under a number of old chiefs, including Malemya (Nakatundu), Kawinga, Chesikula, Kalimbuka, and Mazia.

The descents of the Makwangwala again caused the Wayao to move on from Chiuta to Namingo on the Mikoko stream. Here Malemya suffered another defeat at the hands of the Angoni; many of his people were driven off and taken to the neighboring Angoni country where they were held in captivity for some time. Finally they were restored by the enterprise of one of Malemya's old men, Kalungulu, who went alone to the Angoni, saying that he wished to live with them and with his own brethren. One day, he asked the Angoni if they would like to see their captives dance, and when they assented, he called the Yao together, and clapping his hands to keep time, he began to sing one of their dance songs. Gradually he gathered all the Yao into the village open space, dancing and singing; then, keeping to the same air, he told them why he had come, using their own language which the Angoni did not understand. "Malemya, our chief, remains at the Mikoko stream. It is not far off. We must all join him again. Now dance for joy. If anyone does not return there, it is his own fault." Then, a few at a time, the dancers left the crowd and stole away into the bush and, as night came on, they all made off and reached Malemya's camp in safety.

Malemya's people were again attacked by the Angoni, and on this occasion they defeated their enemies. The Angoni retreated and skirting Zomba mountain, reached the Shire

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[1] Macdonald, op. cit.

175 River at Mpimbi where they intended to settle. Here, an old chief, knowing that their
167 presence would cause trouble, persuaded them by tales of many cattle far away on the other side of the river, to cross over, and there they remained.

698 Kawinga and Malemya, then, to avoid further raids from the north went down to the Upper Shiré River near Lake Pamalombe, Kawinga going to Mvera, while Malemya stayed on the east side of the river among the Anyanja, claiming friendship with them because
[131] they bore many of the same clan names. Later, Malemya moved up to the highlands about fifteen miles north of what is now Zomba, and Kawinga went to Chikala. Malemya was friendly with the Anyanja chief, Chenyani, who was of his clan, and was therefore able to buy from him for a red blanket all the country from the Likwenu stream to the Namadzi River, a district thirty to forty miles long. There his people settled.

Kawinga was once again attacked by the Makwangwala from the north, but beat them back, after which they returned to the country whence they came — German East Africa near Lake Nyasa. The Angoni chief was killed in this battle, and the story goes that two Yao captives were told off to carry the eviscerated body back to the Angoni country for burial. As they were not provided with food for the journey, the two men began to eat the corpse. After several days, this was discovered; one of the men was killed but the other escaped to tell the tale. Those were barbarous days, and the Yao relate that after raiding
[726 a village, the Angoni would leave a pot cooking on the fire with the body of a child in it, well covered with beans, so that when they had gone away with their booty and the vil-
266 lagers who had taken refuge in the forest returned hungry, they would start eating the beans and then come upon the body of the child, and having eaten of the juices of a human body, they would have committed a terrible sin.

The immigration of the Amachinga into the country around Mangoche mountain caused the Amangoche Yao settled there to move. They passed into the Blantyre and Mlanje districts, and invaded the country of the Anyanja. The chief, Malemya, known as Nakatundu died about 1880, and was succeeded by his nephew, a sister's son, according to the Yao custom. This nephew, Wandalama,[1] then took the name of Malemya.

In consequence of this succession, there was considerable bad feeling between Wandalama and the other aspirant to the chieftaincy, his cousin, Kumtaja. The latter moved down to the plain below Zomba mountain to the south, where he gathered about him a band of friends and malcontents. Malemya decided to attack him and with this purpose, sent two messengers, Nkapiti and Mapundela, asking Chikusi and his Angoni to come and do the job for him. Led by Nyamuka, Njeremeli, and Kalapi, the Angoni came from the Shiré River opposite Blantyre, via Matope. They attacked and routed Kumtaja who, owing to the thick country, managed to fall back with most of his people toward Lake Chilwa. Here he was received by his cousin, Chimombo, a son of Nakatundu, and father of my interpreter, Chenaga, who ruled among the Anyasa. Afterwards, he moved to Mpimbi on the Shiré where he built a stockaded village.

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[1] Died July 24, 1916.

After the defeat of Kumtaja, Chikusi and his Angoni routed Kumtumanja, a brother 175
of Malemya, who had also been making a nuisance of himself. Kumtumanja, who suffered 167
from a large hydrocoele, is supposed to have lost his bala[illegible] on account of this impediment, and fallen into a stream where he had stopped to drink and to have been drowned. 648

The Angoni still burned for more warfare, and Malemya, fearing that with his work done, they might prove a nuisance to him, turned them on to the Amangoche Yao around Blantyre. Thither they set off on a raiding expedition and returned to their own country via Chiradzulu. This raid took place in 1884.

During the next few years, Kawinga, who had always held a grudge against Malemya for having got ahead of him to the best country, occupied the chief with raiding and warfare. In 1891, Wandalama died, and was succeeded by Chisala, the son of his sister, Chisigore, and at the present time, he is the reigning Malemya.

It is of these Amachinga Yao under Malemya that the following notes are written. I have gone at some length into the history of these people in order to disarm criticism by those who, familiar with other sections of the Wayao, may not agree with all my statements.

Life History. Generally speaking, the life of the Yao native in the old days was full of 181
ease spiced with the excitement of intertribal warfare. He cultivated his crops, kept a few goats and chickens, and relieved the monotony by hunting. Even domestic slavery was not a great hardship, nor did the Yao probably suffer from coast slave-raiding to the same extent as many other tribes. As children, they are wont to spend their days free from care, seldom reprimanded, and rarely or never physically chastised. During youth, the same 857
easy lot is theirs, with the addition from time to time of a few small tasks; minor household duties for the girls, such as drawing water, sweeping the hut, and "minding" the baby, while the boys hoe or fetch and carry for their fathers in the village or in the bush. Left to their own devices, they play games,[1] dig out rats' nests, or shoot birds with bows and arrows.

Now, as formerly, when they are about five years old, the girls usually go to live with their grandmother who may thus have a number of children around her; or several girls of a somewhat more advanced age may sleep together in a hut dormitory. Boys of this age all live in a big hut called *upisha ja chachanda*, "the boys' dormitory." This is their quarters until one by one they leave to get married. The girl, similarly, remains in the girls' dormitory or with her grandmother until she is taken in marriage.

Puberty. The first interruption of this placid life of youth is the onset of puberty or the 881
first initiation ceremonies.[2] Formerly, these ceremonies took place after puberty but of late years, as is pointed out elsewhere, they are performed much earlier.

Child betrothal. Betrothal in childhood or before birth is not uncommon. A woman 584
learning that some friend of hers is pregnant will arrange that if a girl is born, her son will marry the friend's daughter, or a man taking a fancy to a little girl will select her as his

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[1] Vide infra, p. [illegible].

[2] Vide infra, p. 246.

584 betrothed. In this latter case, the child lives with one of his wives and is brought up in his house.

881 When this girl first menstruates, she tells the man's wife who in turn informes her husband. He then goes out into the bush with his axe, while the wife reports to the young girl's mother and to the man's female relatives. The girl is put to rest on a mat in the hut, the women remaining with her after shutting and fastening the door. The man, meantime, cuts a strip of bark, hammers it out into a piece of cloth, and puts the cloth, wound round and round the stem of the tree from which he has taken it, on the roof of the hut where the girl lies. The first passer-by who notices this sign, spreads the news; then all the women in the village assemble and trill with their tongues to show their joy, while the women in the house sing.

Until the girl's menstrual period is over, the old women relatives sleep each night in her hut, and instruct her in the taboos relating to menstruation. The front door is kept closed, and exit for purposes of nature is made only through the back door. When the girl is up again, the fire in the hut is extinguished, the bark-cloth which she has worn and her sleeping mat are rolled up and put away in the veranda-room, and the girl, having procured clay, replasters the floor of the entire hut. A woman then brings fresh fire from another hut.

841 At subsequent menstrual periods, there is no ceremony. The girl, as is the custom of all women at such times, must sleep on a mat apart from her husband. Sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden under penalty of dire sickness. For the same reason, no menstruating woman may put salt in the food, etc. Until the girl's first menstrual period is over, the man to whom she is betrothed stays in the hut of another wife. Later, he may cohabit with the girl.

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833 If the girl has not been to her initiation ceremony, *Chiputu*,[1] on returning to her husband's hut after this ceremony, the first coitus takes place in the veranda. It must be incomplete, so that ejaculation takes place after withdrawal and the semen falls upon her cloth. This should be taken by the girl to some of the old women in the village who report on the proceedings. Should withdrawal not have taken place, the man is considered bad and the girl, unless doctored, may sicken. Later, ordinary cohabitation is allowed. This species of ceremonial coitus is called *Kwasa* mauta or in Chinyanja, *Ku-taya mafuta*, "to roll away the oil," referring to the oil with which the girl was anointed at *Chiputu*. A girl who has no betrothed, on returning from Chiputu to her grandmother is given medicine similarly to prevent her sickening.

584 *Betrothal and marriage in adult life.* Apart from child betrothal, when a man seeking a wife, sees a girl he fancies, he talks the matter over with his brother, uncle, or some friend, who then goes and makes overtures to the girl's uncle or brother, her guardian or *ngoswe*[2] as he is called. The ngoswe corresponds very closely to our idea of a god-parent; he may be called the sponsor. The word "surety" is used by Macdonald.[3]

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[1] Vide infra, p. 293.

[2] *Ngoswe* is a word adopted from the Chin, *Nkoswe*.

[3] Macdonald, op. cit., vol. I, p. 118.

If the suitor receives a favorable reply, he informs his father and the elders of his village 584 and then goes to the girl's village where he begins to build a house and spends much time performing duties for the girl's parents, such as hoeing. If, after a month, he is approved, the girl's people send a messenger to the man's village, asking, "Have you missed anyone from your village?" The answer is, "Yes, So-and-So," to which the reply is given, "Well, he is here with us." The man's people then arrange to come to the girl's village on a certain day.

On the appointed day, the two sponsors (*ngoswe*) on each side, meet in the village open 585 space and being assured that there is nothing to prevent the marriage and the man and woman being willing, the tie is made. There is no formal ceremony or token of marriage between the man and woman. Porridge is cooked for the sponsors and a fowl provided. The back of the fowl is broken by the elder sponsor as a sign of the compact. The man is exhorted by his sponsors to be a credit to them in his new village, while the woman is told by her mother and her aunt that they expect her to live an exemplary life. The man's chief sponsor tells him that no longer is he a member of his own village, but belongs to the girl's sponsor, and the converse is told to the girl. Hereafter, in all matters relating to them as married people, the girl will consult her husband's sponsor and vice versa. The elder sponsor on both sides is called *mpago wakugona*, borrowing from Chinyanja, "a log lying down," and is usually an uncle; the junior is commonly the brother of the bridegroom.

On leaving the girl's village, the *mpago wakugona* will say, "You will see me no more in this village but this, my younger companion; if you see him, you will know he comes from me." The sponsors' responsibilities last so long as the pair lives, unless they separate for some reason. Thus, should the husband's goats die or should he lose his axe, the woman reports to his sponsor. If the husband kills an antelope, the sponsors receive some portion of the meat. If a village is to be moved, the inhabitants consult the sponsors of every married couple. In this way, the sponsors become the repository of all the events of the married life of the husband and wife and in case of any dispute or untoward event, theirs is the accredited testimony on family matters. The account given by Macdonald,[1] I venture to think may be incorrect.

Should the *mpago wakugona* die, the junior sponsor takes his place and a new junior is appointed. The new *mpago wakugona* sends a message to the other party's *ngoswe* telling him of the change, at the same time presenting him with a fowl. As he may be acting for a number of people, he may have to distribute several fowls; later, he visits his confreres.

Following the marriage compact and the departure of the *ngoswe*, the married pair go 591 away quietly to the house the man has built for his wife, or she may wait until evening and, if she is shy, she may be accompanied by an elder sister, or may be sent with food for her husband. Consummation may not take place for a day or two, after which the hus-

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[1] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 132.

585 drum of her married life begins. The man and woman live together peaceably enough as a rule, each attending to his own sphere of work. The man builds the house, the woman
462 muds the floors; she sweeps and cooks, she is the hewer of wood and drawer of water. The man hunts, fishes, makes mats, baskets, the grain store, game traps, and bark-cloth; he looks after the tobacco, and makes the snuff, while his wife brews the beer. He it is who fashions the gourd vessels and carves the spoons, while the woman is the potter (Pl. III, 4) and pipe-maker. Together they hoe and together they harvest, but to the woman falls the monotonous drudgery of pounding and sifting the corn for flour.

842 The Yao have a custom like that of the Anyanja. A sister brings to the house of the newly wedded pair a log of green wood from a mbange tree which is very hard; the log
[522] may be two feet in diameter and four feet long. Should the bride not become pregnant before it is burned away, the husband is laughed at and they may both be teased by having
[558] many logs brought to the house. A man who has no children is much despised and there is a saying, "He must have eaten some ground-nuts," punning on the word for a thick-skinned variety of ground-nut, *chimbuwila*, a word which also means sterility. An impotent
[837] man may, with the consent of his wife, introduce some male friend into the house, any children born in consequence being claimed as the husband's. He usually chooses some friend from a distance to obviate any attachment springing up between him and the wife. Two married couples may, all consenting, exchange consorts for the night, but they never live together like this for long periods.

582 There is one well-defined marriage taboo; a man may not marry a woman of his own clan. In the old days, he was also restricted to his own tribe, except in the case of slave
[611] wives and wives by capture. Since the clan is inherited from the mother,[1] a man may not marry the daughters of his maternal aunts, but he may marry his other female cousins.
[587] He may not marry two sisters nor a deceased wife's sister; neither do two brothers marry two sisters.

595 The number of wives is limited only by the husband's ability to provide for them. In addition to free wives, a man might formerly have a number of slave wives. The head wife is called *kaupate*, the other wives, *mangomba*. The word given by Macdonald, *akuzyete*,[2] meaning the junior wives, is a Chinyanja word and, I think, wrongly applied.

582 It has been said that a man always marries into the village of his wife. For this reason,
[842] female children are always prized as it means an increase in the number of able-bodied men added to the village. In rare cases, the wife might be taken to the husband's village,
[583] as is the Anyanja practice.[3] This, of course, is true in the case of chiefs and headmen. Here, we may also note that no payment is made for the wife and no dowry is received with her.

584 To revert to betrothal, occasionally the sponsors will not agree to the marriage and a runaway match takes place, but in the end, the marriage is usually regularised by the
843 sponsors coming to an agreement. If, however, the woman has in the meantime become

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[1] Vide infra, p. 253. [2] Op. cit., p. 124. [3] Stannus, op. cit., p. 200.

pregnant, the meeting of the sponsors will have to be postponed until after the ceremony 584
connected with her first quickening with child, *Litiwo*.[1] This ceremony must be performed 843
whether the girl is regularly married or not. One party cannot ask the other for permission that both ceremonies take place at the same time. The answer would be given, "You are asking me to kill two beasts with one bullet." In rare cases, the chief may sanction the marriage and *Litiwo* ceremonies taking place at about the same time, i.e. the marriage is arranged before the child is born.

Widowhood. A widow is considered unclean for a period after the death of her husband. 589
She wears a band of palm-leaf or string around her forehead. When the period is passed 587
and some man wishes to marry her, arrangement is made with some other man to cohabit with her for payment; she is then said to be clean and can go to her prospective husband. [833]
This ceremony is called *kutema ngwiji*, "to cut the strings," or in Chinyanja, *ku-dula mlaza*, "to cut the palm"; unless it is performed, the new husband will sicken. The man introduced for the purpose is called by the Yao, *litawa*, the "hyaena," "he who comes by night."

Divorce. From time to time, married people disagree and one deserts the other. If the 586
woman leaves the man, he has a claim against her and the man to whom she goes for all the clothes he has supplied her with during their married life. The husband usually sides with the wife's relatives and arranges that they look after the children; he does not claim them. When the husband and wife mutually wish to separate, they both meet with their sponsors and everything is duly arranged. The husband will give his wife an arrow, saying, "*Mpamba* (the arrow)," meaning, "If I come back, may it kill me." The place of the arrow may be taken by a bullet or any other object, even a piece of grass. The man will add, "*Sooke, sooke, no likoswe!* (rattling, rattling, it is a rat!)," inferring that if his wife hears something rattling in the house, it is a rat, not himself trying to come back. There - is no definite payment of compensation. If the woman marries again, she presents the "arrow" to her second husband as a sign that she has been freed from her first marriage; without this token, no man would marry her.

Actual adultery was in the old days very rare owing to the strict enforcement of rules, 684
and the case of a woman demanding divorce on account of the adultery of her husband 586
formed a *cause célèbre*. The case heard by the chief would last for days and hundreds of people would come to listen. Neighboring Anyanja pleaders would be invited to speak and great excitement prevailed, as these latter would be accompanied by their villagers, who, to the accompaniment of continuous drumming, would sing, "*Mbawala anakadwa m'ukonde*,[2] (The [illegible]-buck has run his head into the net)," while they ran about running their heads into their game-nets.

Other causes of separation are neglect of duty, sterility of the wife, and habitual death 586
of the children born.

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[1] Vide infra, p. 256.

[2] Chin.

843 842 *Pregnancy and childbirth.* An event of the first importance in the Yao world is the first conception or rather the "quickening" with the first child, *Litiwo*; this is described below, together with the other ceremonies of the *Unyago*.[1] After the ceremony of *Litiwo*, the period of waiting until the birth of the child passes without further event. A point of medical interest is that native women suffer in many cases from "morning sickness" during pregnancy. [171] That they may have perverted appetites is also recognised, grain husks and crabs being among the things most commonly desired. As the Anyanja,[2] the Yao believe that the child develops from the semen of the male, although the growth of the child is in some way connected with the mother.

844 When labor commences, the woman retires to the bush a few hundred yards away from her house, attended by some friend, seldom a midwife, and never by her own people, though the mother and the mother-in-law will probably be near the spot. If labor is not completed by evening, they return to the house and the birth may take place actually within its walls. [171] The attitude assumed in labor is the same as that adopted by the Anyanja,[3] the patient semi-reclining in the arms of another woman who sits behind, grasping her belly. The vulva is smeared with a decoction made from the bark of the *mposa* tree as a lubricant, but no other help is given. *Kumkuli* is the name given to the place of confinement; *m'luuli* means the house where the woman remains for a period after the confinement. The Yao recognise the protruding bag of amniotic fluid and call it the "oil-gourd". "*Chisasi chikasiche?* (The oil-gourd, has it broken?)." They wait until the placenta is delivered before dividing the cord. This is done with the sharp edge of the outer covering of a maize stalk or sugar cane; a knife is never used. The section is made near the placenta or half-way between it and the child, after tying the proximal end with a bark string.

The woman who receives the child at birth is the *ambusanga*, friend or godmother. If the infant is born in the bush, she carries it back to the house whither they go as soon as labor is completed. The mother herself, unless she is very ill, goes out shortly afterwards and buries the placenta in the ash-heap, using a stick to dig the hole, never a hoe.

846 After the birth, the mother and child must remain in the house until the umbilical cord separates, during which time the husband does not enter, though he may come to the door to look in at the child.

The day on which exit from the house is made, the floor is entirely replastered with mud.
852 The baby's head is shaved and a cross is made upon it with *ngama*, a kind of red pigment.
553 The husband may then receive the child and in the case of a first-born, it is he who gives it
302 his name; other children may be named by the *ambusanga*, the mother, or the aunt.

When the mother leaves the house to appear in public, the *nakanga* who put her *litiwo* on,[4] removes it.

So long as the infant remains in the house, care must be taken as to persons allowed to handle it. A woman who has recently had a menstrual period or coitus with her husband, or a girl who has just returned from *Chiputu* must not touch the child, as it is said, "Her body is hot and would give fever to the child." To guard against such a happening, some "clean" woman, after handing some beads to the mother, will ask to be allowed to take the infant. This indicates that should it sicken, the beads will pay the medicine-woman who comes to cure it. The mother and baby are simply washed in water and are not treated with medicine, unless meconium has been voided before the child was delivered.[1] If the infant dies before it is presented to the outside world, it is disposed of in the same way as a stillborn child, i.e. buried in the ash-heap. About the tenth day, the baby is adorned with a girdle of beads and two little pieces of stick obtained from a medicine-woman to make the infant grow fat. 846 [845 766] [856]

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[1] Vide infra, p. 274.

[2] Stannus, op. cit., p. 318.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Vide infra, p. 274.

The length of time during which the father and mother refrain from cohabitation after the birth of a baby varies greatly according to circumstance. Four months is probably a minimum, while two years, during which the woman suckles the child, is the common interval. After the first coitus, the man and woman wash themselves and the baby is bathed in the same water to prevent any ill coming to it. 833

Suckling often continues much longer than two years. If the mother dies, the child may be suckled by the grandmother, an aunt, or some other woman, but the breasts must first be treated with medicine or the child would die 853

A child born breech first is called *salanga*, a word which is also used to denote a variety of domestic fowl which always has the appearance of having its feathers ruffled. A child who dies before the father and mother have resumed sexual relations is buried in a graveyard apart from that of adults. The grave, dug with sticks, not hoes, is very shallow, and when it is filled in, a heap of stones is made above it. Only women attend the burial. A deep grave would cause the mother to go on losing children at an early age. The body of such a child is called *litunu*, "hyaena." 845 766

A woman dying undelivered is placed in the grave in the usual way and then, before filling in the earth, one of the grave-diggers descends into the pit, cuts through the enveloping shroud, and incises the abdomen. One end of a long bamboo stick or reed is inserted in the incision and the other end is brought out to the surface of the grave. If this were not done, "many would die in childbirth." 844 766

Twins are not killed by the Yao but are well treated and always cared for equally. They are given similar clothing and food.[2] There is a story that the mother of Nkwamba, 845

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[1] Chingere, vide infra, p. 260.

[2] Cf. A. Werner, 'Among the Congo Cannibals, by John H. Weeks, London, 1913, a review,' (Man, vol. 14, no. 13, 1914, p. 18).

I take this opportunity of referring to Miss Werner's review in which, speaking of twins, she says, "They are always among the Anyanja given the names *Mapili* and *Nyuma*." *Mapili* in Chinyanja refers to a kind of musical instrument and the Chiyao meaning is "coconut palm." *Nyuma* is a Chiyao word which certainly means "the back." It is sometimes used of the second born twin but does not occur in Chinyanja. I have never heard of twins either among the Wayao or the Anyanja spoken of by these names. A mother carries the first born on the right arm and the second born on the left, but, so far as I know, she does not give a duplicate greeting nor make a habit of eating equally with both hands. [114]

845 one of Makanyu's men died, after giving birth to quintuplets, some thirty years ago. Deformed children are buried alive. A large number of children is always hoped for and where [165] polygamy is practiced, some families are of considerable size, although the mortality among young children is very high. It is, of course, very difficult to state the child-bearing period among natives. It does not start so early as is commonly supposed, and I think the menopause is found within about the same limits as among Europeans.

761 165 *Death.* Natives of Nyasaland live to a good old age. That such is not the case I have found to be one of the many fallacious beliefs concerning natives which should be relegated to the realm of exploded theories, as I have pointed out elsewhere.[1]

[754] Death in old age is recognized as a natural event but apart from this, all sickness and death were formerly and are still to a large extent looked upon as the result of the machinations of some person, an idea which forms the outstanding feature in their belief in witchcraft, *usawi*.[2]

763 Here I shall mention the ordinary customs in the case of death. During the last hours of a mortal illness, a man is tended by his wife or wives; the head wife sits constantly supporting his head on her lap or against her breast. A woman is similarly tended by her mother, sisters, and friends. As unconsciousness sets in and the extremities become cold, they say, "His spirit has gone and only the heart remains alive."

The native does not like the idea of lingering on and a man on his death-bed will say to his sons, "Now watch me that I die quickly." He may take medicine to help him over that time or he may give his sons instructions as to what to do. Should a man linger unconscious for a long time, friends will ask his sons, "Did he give you any instructions?" If he has done so, the sons will then carry them out. This perhaps consists of bathing themselves in medicines left by their father, while they stand on the roof of his house. Sometimes, the natives say of a lingering case, "Ah, perhaps he has eaten of a tortoise's heart!" [825] knowing the phenomenon of the tortoise's heart and believing that by partaking of it, the same property can be conferred on the heart of a man.

764 [177] When death is manifest, the body is covered with a cloth by a brother, a son, or some other person in attendance. The eyes are closed, the mouth shut, and at the present time, the body straightened out. This, however, is a recent practice copied from the Anyanja, Europeans, and Mohammedans.

764 203 News of the death must be sent to the chief, and a messenger goes to his village where the chief and his people sit in the village open space. He carries a fowl in his hand. The present of a single fowl always denotes bad tidings. One of the chief's men, seeing the stranger approach with the single fowl, will jump up and take the bird. He is joined by the others and they go away to the cross-roads where they kill the fowl, pluck it, cook it and eat it. In the meantime, the messenger delivers his news to the chief who will produce from his house about eight yards of white calico; if the deceased has been a much respected

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[1] Hugh S. Stannus, 'The life-span of negroes', (Lancet, April 11, 1914, p. 1053). [2] Vide infra, p. 288.

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person, he may also give a goat. The calico is to wrap up the body of the dead, the goat is for the undertakers, *asile*.[1] 203

Until eight or ten years ago, the Wayao buried their dead in a posture of complete flexion. The preparation of the body after death is carried out by friends from a neighboring village who volunteer for the service. They are known as *asile*, (sing. *mbile*). Macdonald[2] thinks the word originally meant relatives; it has essentially the opposite meaning now. The corpse is washed in ordinary water and no anointment is made. The limbs, formerly, were then flexed on the body and at all the joints. The clenched hands were placed under the chin of the bent head or the hands were spread over the face of the flexed head, while the legs were tightly bent at the knees and brought up close against the abdomen. The corpse was securely bound in this position and adorned with a loin-cloth of bark. The body of a man found stiff and extended was a source of great trouble. Water was heated, and the body bathed until it was as relaxed as possible. As much force would then be applied as was necessary to gain the required degree of flexion, the bones often being broken in the process. 764 [767]

In the case of a woman, her female friends put on her bark-cloth loin covering, but the washing and trussing up of the body were usually done by men unless there were some women particularly skilled in the operation. [767]

The flexed body was then set up on the deceased's sleeping mat within the hut, and from time to time, so long as it remained exposed, it was washed, people coming from other villages to offer their services for this task. Watchers sat continually by the body, the wife and perhaps a brother on either side, while others slept in the hut to take their turn later. The rest of the mourners sat on the veranda about the door.

As soon as the *asile* had finished their work, wailing began, started by the wife and carried on by all the women of the village and the women relatives from elsewhere. Wailing continued all day until about ten in the evening, and then started again between two and three in the morning. This went on for three or four days or was intermittent for a longer time, always recommencing with the arrival of a party from another village. I have never heard of flour being put on the heads by Yao mourners, as mentioned in *Africana*.[3] 765

News of a death was always sent to all the relatives, and burial might be delayed to allow for the arrival of those from a distance. Under such circumstances, the body was enclosed in a casing of bark, the ends being closed by bamboo pegs. Exaggerated signs of grief were sometimes made by the mourners who beat their breasts with their hands while they knocked their heads against the ground or a wall, but the Yao did not indulge in the excesses of the Anyanja near Lake Chilwa who practiced a kind of flagellation, the wailers within the house meeting any new-comers at the door and beating them with sticks. This treatment was not resented. Women alone did the wailing; a man indulging in such expression would be laughed at. His part in the old days when the natives possessed firearms was [764]

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[1] Vide infra, p. 244.

[2] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 103.

[3] Ibid.

765 to fire off his gun as long as his powder lasted. During the period of mourning, drumming [534] went on continuously, *chindimba* being played on the three small drums called *ichoma*.

With the exception of the flexed attitude of the body, the foregoing description is a correct account of what happens today. The body is now fully extended.

The *awilo* are two or four in number, although other friends may assist in all their services. 767/ On about the third day, the *awilo* sew up the body in bark cloth, completely envelop- 764 ing it; a bamboo needle is used and left sticking in the cloth at the last stitch. The body is then enclosed in a mat slung on a pole, and carried from the hut to the grave. First, the procession makes a round of the village, passing by all the houses which the dead man used to visit, and over all the paths he used to cross. His children and those of his relatives under seven or eight years old gather in the village, and throw pieces of charcoal toward the body as it passes, "so that they shall forget the dead man," or run after the corpse, while some one sprinkles medicine over them.

764 As the procession leaves the village, it is headed by the drums playing *chindimba*, but after a few hundred yards, only the *ching'anga* drum, now called *chitanda*, beats time for a [534] short distance; the procession then goes on quietly. Following the drums, walks the mother or another relative carrying flour with which the grave will be marked out. Behind this mourner, the body is borne by the *awilo*. The *awilo* are always the first to carry the body, but are later relieved by other friends of the deceased; no one would ever ask to be relieved. [114] After the chief mourner, follow the other relatives and friends, the men first, the women behind. Boys just back from their *unyago* attend to learn the customs. All the relatives of the deceased go to the burial, contrary to Macdonald's account.[1]

In this order, the procession reaches some tree thirty or forty yards from the place of burial where the corpse is put down in the shade, *mtala*, "resting place", and while the women and part of the men watch beside it, the *awilo* proceed to the burial place. They cut branches from a sacred tree, and strew them on the path. On approaching the appointed spot, they clap their hands in salutation, asking that the burial ground be opened to them.

The head *mwilo* chooses the site where the grave shall be dug, after which the mourner marks out the limits with the flour she has brought. In the days when the body was buried in contracted posture, a circular grave was dug just big enough to allow two men to work in it. Eight feet was the usual depth but this was decided by the deceased's *ngwene*, if he were living, otherwise, by his near relatives. In the east side of this circular well, a cave was excavated, just large enough to admit the contracted corpse. When all was prepared, the body accompanied by all the mourners, was brought from *mtala* to the graveside. The chief *mwilo* with a friend of the man's family and one of his wife's, standing in the grave received the body and placed it in the cave, resting on a mat and covered with bark cloth. The body lay on its side with its back toward the well, and its face looking

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[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 106.

toward the east. After adjusting the body in its place, the *awilo* would tear open the shroud 764
over the ear, and pour on to the pinna some powdered beads to be used by the dead man as [114]
money in the hereafter. Except in the case of chiefs, no objects were buried with the dead, contrary to Macdonald's description[1] of the Amangoche. The pole on which the body had been carried to the grave was broken into bits and together with any stick that had been used to measure the body for the cave, was placed in the grave. The opening into the chamber was then closed by a mat fastened over it by pegs and supported by pieces of wood. The *awilo* clambering out of the well, pushed the first earth backward into the grave with their elbows, after which the rest of the earth was shovelled in quickly, and a heap made at the surface. The ground about this mound was swept clean with a bunch of leaves by some one walking backward so that no footprints were left; the bunch of leaves was thrown on top of the mound. No medicine was put in the grave, nor were the household [114]
utensils placed on the mound, as Macdonald states concerning the Amangoche.[2]

For some years past, the type of grave made among the Yao has resembled that of the Anyanja,[3] a long pit with a chamber scooped out along the whole length of one side. In this, the corpse is placed in a fully extended position so that it lies on its back with the feet toward the east. With this exception, the account given above holds good for the present day. The method of suspending the corpse in a mat slung on forked sticks within the grave, mentioned in *Africana*,[4] is not found among the Amachinga Yao.

On the way back to the village, two *awilo* lead, followed by the men, the women, and 764
lastly, by the other *awilo*. First, all wash, the men upstream, the women downstream; no 783
one may wash another's back. The hoes used in digging the grave are also washed; hoes are never washed on any other occasion.

During the funeral, some responsible old man is left in charge of the village with several younger men to assist him. Just before the return of the funeral party is expected, the old man sends one of the younger men to set medicine at the side of the path along which the [824]
mourners will pass. This medicine is made from the bark of the *mpingo* tree and is used for purification; it is placed in a sherd. Each person as he arrives at the spot squats down, dips the little finger of each hand into the medicine, and passes the fingers between the little toe and the third toe of the corresponding foot. The last comer throws any remaining medicine into the bush. As they near the village, a gun is fired and wailing is resumed for a few minutes, after which it ceases altogether. The old man who has been left in charge of the village always inquires whether all has gone well at the interment.

That evening, the time is passed in singing *chindimba*.[5] All those who attended the 765
burial, sleep in the village, and if the deceased's relatives can afford to provide the necessary food, all remain in the village for a number of days equal to the period which elapsed between death and burial. Sometimes, when burial was long delayed, the mourning party

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[1] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 107.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Stannus, 'Notes on natives of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 312.

[4] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 108.

[5] Vide infra, p. 267, 270.

765 might not break up for a week, but the practice was often modified to some degree, people returning to their homes during the day and coming back each night to sleep in the deceased's village. At the present time, there is a tendency to cut the proceedings short, and the mourners generally disperse on the second day after the funeral. This period of waiting is usually whiled away by playing and singing *chindimba*.

766 On the day before the company leaves the village — *now, often on the day after the* funeral — the ceremony of shaving the head takes place. The *asilo*, assisted in the case 765 of a large party, by those who helped at the burial, shave the heads of all the dead man's relatives. When this is completed, they begin to tear down the deceased's house. The grass from the roof, with the hair removed from the heads of the relatives, is carried to the cross-roads and burned. The walls of earth are torn down and made into a heap; on the top, a stick is raised, and at its base is placed the dead man's snuff box. Sometimes a cactus euphorbia, *ngachi*, is planted on the mound and cassava round about. The snuff box is kept replenished with snuff. This, with the cassava, is reserved for the *asilo*; no one else may partake of them.

While the house is being pulled down, the chief *msilo* ties around the neck of the widow a single string of beads or a small piece of calico, *ng'anji*. After the house has been demolished, the *asilo* return to their homes and on the following morning, everyone else departs.

767 The position of *msilo* is a strange one. Every man in the course of his life probably acts as undertaker for some friend; many have probably performed the service several times. He receives no regular payment, but beads, and, nowadays, coins are often thrown into the pot of water with which he wets the heads of those he shaves after the funeral, and he has the freedom of the village in which he has so acted forever afterward, the degree of freedom being determined by the distance which he has travelled to officiate. When Wandalama died, a headman named Chisui from Makanjila's on Lake Nyasa, over a hundred miles away, acted as one of the *asilo*. The occasions on which he revisited Makanya's village are [431] well remembered, as they were marked by much frolicking and some obscenity. He was the recipient of enormous presents of fowls, sheep, and anything else he cared to take, and having commandeered men from the village to carry these gifts for him, he would leave, accompanied by all the people, yelling and shouting their joy at seeing him again.

Any fowls or other provisions that friends may present to the deceased's relatives at the time of the funeral to help defray expenses are given to the *asilo*; no one else may eat them. Some may be kept against the next death in the family.

A few days after the funeral, recourse is had to the chief to settle whether any action 768 must be taken in regard to the cause of the death. Some near relative of the dead man will 622 be chosen for this purpose; he must not be shaved by the *asilo* at the time of the funeral. The consultation takes place at some secluded spot outside the village. The chief always brings some one with him to witness what is said. On arriving at the appointed place, the chief salutes the unshaven mourner who is probably accompanied by other relatives, and

then listens to an account of the circumstances attending the illness and death. The point 768
at issue is whether there is any evidence pointing to death from unnatural causes which 682
requires consulting a diviner. The chief practically always agrees with the relatives, and it
is said that he will never press them to go to the [illegible] unnecessarily. The case may
end with this conference, or here may begin the long series of events described under *usawi*.[1]

During the month subsequent to the funeral, certain taboos have to be observed. The 765
widow may not bathe, and with the exception of the [illegible], all who attended must refrain
from sexual intercourse. At the expiration of this period, beer is brewed in the village, and 768
all the friends and relatives are again summoned. This beer-drinking is called "the beer of
politeness," or "the beer of resignation." In addition to the beer, food is provided, and
everyone helps himself without ceremony. *Chindimba* is sung and danced and at the present day, bands of trained dancers attend, including [illegible].[2] A pot of beer is
sunk into the ground, marking the site of the dead man's house. The night of [illegible][3] [833]
sees husbands and wives reunited, and the widow may go through ceremonial intercourse
with a man appointed for the purpose called *litawa* or [illegible]. Sometimes the widow refuses
litawa, and is given medicine instead to cleanse her; her body is then no longer "hot" and
likely to bring disease to those about her. A widow does not marry again for two or three 587
years. A young man who loses his wife has no longer any standing in her village after 768
[illegible]. He is usually given a present, with the suggestion that he go elsewhere. After
the death of an infant, the mother is considered unclean. She sleeps on a mat apart from
her husband till after the ceremony of shaving, and then undergoes a ceremonial union
with her husband — in which case he is called *litawa* — after which, ordinary cohabitation is resumed. If she has been a widow, or if the child was born "with disease,"[4] another
man acts as *litawa*.

The morning following [illegible], all the fires in the village are extinguished. A fresh 769
blaze is then kindled with the fire-drill, [illegible], either in the chief's house or in some spot [372]
nearby, and from there, fire is carried to all the houses. The ashes of the old fires, the
stones supporting the cooking pots, and the porridge sticks are taken to the cross-roads,
and there destroyed. Everyone then shaves all his own hair, head, axillae, and pubis. [302]
The custom of the second shaving by the [illegible], described in *Africana*,[5] is, I think, an
adaptation from the Anyanja. A year later, beer is again brewed, and all the relatives
summoned to the village to partake of it. There is dancing, but no ceremony.

The Yao bury their dead in regular graveyards in wooded country, the thicker the 764
forest the better, often two or three miles away from a group of villages. Different villages
bury their dead in different parts of the burial ground; relatives are usually buried near
one another. Graves are never revisited, and no one would enter a graveyard except at the 769
time of a funeral, and then only after obtaining permission from the chief. Such spots are

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[1] Vide infra, p. [illegible].

[2] Vide infra, p. [illegible] and Pl. I.

[3] Beer-drinking.

[4] Vide infra, p. [illegible].

[5] Macdonald, op. cit., p. 111.

769 supposed to be the abode of spirits. Except in the case of chiefs, the Wayao never make any erections over their graves, like the *Anyanja* grass shelters, and the present-day Mohammedan earth imitations of Swahili tombs.

766 Chiefs, and the more important headmen, are usually buried in their own villages. Over the grave, a grass hut with a veranda is erected; the hut is covered with calico, and guns were formerly set in as veranda posts. Guns and ivory used to be buried with the corpse [567] but these Yao, I am told, never practised the barbarous custom of burying slaves with their chiefs. Information of the death of a chief was always conveyed to other chiefs by slaves who were kept by the recipient of the message.

Since the time of the old Malemya, the corpse of a chief always lies with its head in the direction of the old chief's grave. The grave is swept around, and the house pulled down as in the case of an ordinary man, but the grave-hut is rebuilt every year and never forgotten.

Since the burial of the dead is more or less correlated with the idea of planting seed from which progeny will spring, the natives will not bury a leper, believing that if they did so, leprosy would spring up all around them. Persons dying of an epidemic disease such as small-pox are dealt with in the same way. In these cases and in that of a man dying of ordeal poison, the body is enclosed in a mat and put up in a tree, a manner of disposing of the dead common among the *Angoni* and some *Anyanja*. Concerning death from dropsy, similar precautions are taken to those in the instance of a woman dying in childbirth,[1] and a tube is put down to the body from the surface of the ground.

A leper feeling that the end is near, will ask to be put in a hut built outside the limits of the burial ground. Here, provided with water and food for a few days, he will wait to die near the graveyard wherein he knows he cannot be buried.

Anyone who is wounded with a spear or any other weapon is not taken into the village, [752] but is kept in a hut in the bush. If death results, the mourning ceremonies differ somewhat from the ordinary rites and are much curtailed.

881 Initiation Ceremonies. Under this heading I propose to deal with the three ceremonies, *Lupanda, Chiputu* and *Litiwo*. They are occasions of great importance in the life of the native and their educative effect for the good of the tribe is far reaching.

At Lupanda (Ndagala) the young boys attend; at *Chiputu* the young girls go through their initiation and a side ceremony for young married men takes place, while *Litiwo* celebrates the first quickening with child. All the ceremonies are included in the word *Unyago*. Macdonald in *Africana* while referring to "the mysteries"[2] gives scant information about the ceremonies and has, presumably, without much knowledge of what goes on, condemned these customs like many others as furthering "absurd superstitions." He has failed to recognize that they are occasions when a large amount of useful advice is imparted, good manners are insisted on, and tribal custom is made known. Sexual questions are dealt with in these mysteries, and, though mixed up with a large amount of superstition, a code of morals is imparted which is far reaching for the social welfare. Macdonald makes the statement that "when a girl is initiated, she must find some man to be with her on her return; otherwise she will die."[1] Speaking with reserve as to what happened among the Amangocho around Blantyre Mission thirty years ago, I believe that no such practice is or was part of the Machinga Yao ceremonies. I have heard similar stories from other Europeans but I am inclined to discredit the whole idea as a practice among any section of Yao. Of the Anyanja, I cannot speak with the same conviction. Similarly I believe that the practice of artificial dilatation of the vagina is foreign to the Yao though possibly introduced in some places from the Swahili. 881/ [177 832

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[1] Vide supra, p. [illegible].

[2] Op. cit., vol. I, ch. [illegible].

At *Lupanda* and *Chiputu*, the youth have to undergo a good deal of hardship which is all for their benefit, but year by year, as civilization progresses, greater numbers forego these ceremonies. Their manners and morals suffer in consequence, and one is forced to acknowledge with the "old people" that the younger generation, decked in European clothes, with an air of smug self-conceit, no longer shows that decorum and self-respect which characterize the older, unsophisticated natives. My experience with regard to the attitude of natives to their initiation ceremonies differs from those related in *Africana* and I am afraid that Macdonald's native friends[2] were laughing at the inquisitiveness of the white man and not at their own experience. 881/ 177

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1913,[3] Dr. Davey and I gave a short account of part of the ceremony at *Lupanda*. Since then, through the friendliness of some of the chiefs in Zomba district, I have been present at several more ceremonies. I have collected a number of fresh observations and made a complete set of sketches of the *inyago* or images in relief made on the ground at one of these ceremonies. I have also a complete account of the boys' ceremonies from a celebrated master of ceremonies or *m'michila* as he is called, named Mlenula (Kampika) of Chechamba, in his own words, with his own songs. In writing down the songs, I have simply recorded the words, without giving the many full and partial repeats, and I have never attempted to score down the airs to which they are sung. 881| 124

In the account given below I shall follow Mlenula's practice, giving such variations as I myself have observed. It will be understood that each *m'michila* has his own way of doing things so that there may be many variations in detail.

Lupanda: Every year, a certain number of boys in a group of villages reach the age at which the ceremony is commonly performed. In response to requests made by the village headmen, the chief appoints a date on which the *unyago* shall be held; this is usually towards the end of the dry season (September) but before the long grass of the bush has been burnt, as this affords the necessary privacy to those taking part. 881

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[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 126.

[2] Ibid., p. 126.

[3] H. S. Stannus and J. B. Davey, "The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland", Jour. Anth. Inst., London, 1913, vol. 43, p. 119-123.

881 The chief, having appointed a day on which the ceremonies shall begin, sends a messenger with a fowl to a medicine-man whom he asks to conduct the ceremonies. The medicine-man is called *m'michila* "he of the tails." He carries his medicines stuffed in the tail-skin of a gnu or zebra and we shall see that his tail or tails play a very important part. [791] Having sent word back to the chief of his acceptance of the invitation, he gets his wife to prepare some fresh castor-oil with which he will remake his medicines, and sends out the boys of the village to collect firewood. A big bonfire is made and dancing goes on all that night in his village. Early next morning he returns to the door of his hut where his wife hands him his "tails." He then immediately departs for the village of the chief. His wife trills with her tongue, this being the sign of his departure, and dancing men, some friend (often his brother) who acts as his chief assistant, his wife, and others will go with him. [801]

[533] He signals his approach to the chief's village by singing:

"*Ku* [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]!"
"You at the village! I shan't be long!"

As he enters the village, all the women hail his arrival by trilling the tongue ([illegible]). He goes straight to the open space in front of the chief's house where the chief meets him. The chief immediately goes into his house and producing a cloth, gives it to the *m'michila* who then places his "tail" on the ground, ([illegible], "things put down"); these are the signs of the compact. A house is given to the *m'michila* wherein he may rest and sleep.

That night, all the mothers of the boys who are to undergo their initiation, now called *wali* (sing. *mwali*), pound flour for the morrow. Early the next morning, the *m'michila* visits the place where the pounding is going on and collects a little flour from each woman's basket into a small basket he himself carries.

The chief then gives him a cock and a hen, an axe and a hoe; with these he goes off accompanied by the fathers of the *wali* to the spot where *Lupanda* will be made. Arrived there, he first points out the spot where his own hut is to be erected. This is quickly built, followed by the shelters for the *wali*.

The cock and hen are then killed and cooked, also some porridge; the entire fowl is cooked; the liver is not cooked separately. When it is ready, the *m'michila* takes a piece of the liver from the pot and some porridge from the other pot together in one hand and then throws them into a little hole where his "tail" has been resting. At this spot, *Lupanda* is made. The *m'michila* then partakes of both again and eats; after he has finished, the other men eat.

[532] After the building of the shelters is finished, fire-wood is collected. On the roofs of the grass shelters figures of animals in grass may be strung up on posts, but they have no definite significance.

In the meantime in the village, the chief has had [illegible] (ceremonial flour) prepared. It is made from millet by his head wife, who must not be near a menstrual period.

3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

When the sun sets, all the boys to undergo the ceremonies (wali) together with their sponsors or guardians, akamusi, (ukamusi sing.) are called together to the village open space ([illegible]). The ukamusi attends his ward throughout the ceremony; he may be an elder brother, an uncle, or someone else who volunteers for the service. 881

The wali are lined up and headed by a "leader," nachilongola, who is usually the most important boy, perhaps a relative of the chief; then they pass one by one in front of the chief who anoints each on the forehead with [illegible] from a small basket. As each boy passes, his mother runs up and throws into the basket a string of beads or nowadays small silver coins. When all have passed, the chief sends some near relative with the basket still containing some flour and the beads or money to the m'michila who is waiting at *Lupanda*.

This is his signal to prepare to receive the wali; he dresses, and accompanied by drummers goes to meet the file of wali. The wali accompanied by their akamusi, their mothers and sisters, sing as they approach: 881 531 533

"*[illegible] [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"Let us go back, perhaps there is no ceremony!"

The m'michila as he meets them sings:

"*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"Why to come with them these children to leave (a small drum) to come with it?"

and follows this in answer to the song of the wali with:

"*Ku [illegible] [illegible],* (Repeat) *[illegible]* (Chorus) *[illegible] [illegible]!*"
"To the village don't go back. Don't go back all!"

The wali now on the outskirts of *Lupanda* are formed into a ring, behind them their akamusi and behind them their mothers and sisters. Then the m'michila leads the way to *Lupanda* singing:

"*[illegible] lya [illegible]!*"
"Spear of an elephant!"

Next, he calls all the mothers to form in two lines meeting at right angles on *Lupanda* and sings to them:

"*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"The eagle lighted on the ground as in the air there is not near relationship!"

The m'michila and his chief assistant each provided with a "tail" strike lightly on the basket which each woman has on her head; then each with a hand on the basket, they lift it down to the ground. Starting with the mother of the "leader," they go round to each mother in turn. The m'michila then to the sound of drums and clapping by the women dances and runs round peeping into each basket exclaiming, "I see so and so in this basket!" saying names, penes, medicine, women's pudenda and so on, after which the women take the baskets of food away to the boys' shelters. The m'michila next sings: 871

"*[illegible]* [illegible] *ku Lupanda*, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"I will go and bring my child to *Lupanda*, when I am going home I had servants!"

533 534 and running round he seizes hold of one of the *wali* and makes him sit down at *Lupanda*, continuing this until he has placed them all in a circle round *Lupanda*. He then sings a song about the little basket which the chief sent him containing the remains of the *ndiupwa* flour:

"*Kasele* [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], *mama*!"
"Little basket the owner asks for it back, give me [illegible], mother!"

His wife who has been waiting in his hut nearby brings him the basket. Holding it in his hands, he prays to the spirits of his ancestors and all the previous medicine-men to whom his medicine-tails have belonged, invoking their aid that the ceremonies may go well.

Still holding the basket he begins to dance, singing:

"*Apakale* *ndiupwa* *jao*"
"Let them (be) smear flour theirs (Let us baptize them!)"

and dipping his right elbow into the basket he smears each *wali* on the forehead with the *ndiupwa* flour. He then goes into his hut and fetches a bundle of powdered roots (which no woman may touch), medicine called *[illegible]*, that is, a medicine used for its aphrodisiac properties. Holding the medicine between the palms of his uplifted hands, he starts singing:

"*[illegible]* [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]"
"I cannot find out how to settle this, we died (with) my brother-in-law!"

He is immediately surrounded by his assistants and the drummers, who dance round him, all holding their hands above his own, after which he unfastens the bundle of medicine and puts a little on the tongue of each *wali*, beginning with the leader. He then takes some sweet-beer made by the chief's wife and pouring it into his old medicine-gourd, he mixes in some *[illegible]* and gives some to each *wali* to drink after which he sings:

"*[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]
"You have drunk a mixture of water and maize flour, of eating eggs
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible];
you sing now, you have drunk (but) I have passed water (in it);
wali(?) [illegible]"
you thought to be clever!"

[200] Next he goes into his hut with the small basket containing the *ndiupwa* and paints his assistant with the flour, a semicircle round the forehead, a line down the middle of the face, a band across the chest, a line down each arm with rings round the arms and forearms, and a line down the middle of the back. They go out again into the ring and while the *wali* [illegible] sings:

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* This may be a reference to [illegible], the [illegible].

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"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"The lizard nods his boys to grow as is going to die"

his assistant with the basket held in his mouth acts the part of the nampopo, a medium-sized lizard with brilliant blue body and orange head which bobs its head up and down. The assistant lies on his belly and bobs his head and shoulders up and down, lifting himself on his hands. (Children often clap their hands as they watch the nampopo bobbing up and down "like a lot-caster" and call out to it to cast lots for them.) The assistant then crawls up to the leader and puts the basket on his head. Bowing his face to the ground for a moment, he again takes the basket and places it on the head of the next novice and so on all around.

After this the novices go and sit near the bonfire which is not yet lighted, while the [illegible] sings to the women:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"The [illegible] Let him cook a [illegible]."

and the women give him a basket of beans with which he makes sifting movements, singing: "Shall I throw them away, shall I put them in the cooking pot?" while the women sing.

His assistants are then told to go and light the bonfire. He himself goes to his hut and places his "tails" in the winnowing basket, and carrying it to the bonfire, he throws some of the flour on the fire, "to regulate its heat." This is the sign to begin the dancing which goes on all night while the novices lie round the fire, each lying with his head on the waist of the next, the leader in front.

In the early morning of the second day, the [illegible] holding his "tails" in his hands runs [illegible] over all the reclining novices and having the same way, runs back, after which the boys are called.

He sings a song:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"The red ants there bite!"

and he pretends to pick them off the boys. After this, he sings:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"Push [illegible] little mother"

as he goes to each novice and throws his "tail" into the boy's hands, receives it back and then puts it on his head till the mother places a coin on his head which is the payment made to the assistant. *[illegible]* = to annoy; [illegible] = not at home; [illegible] = is it not at home, is it not present? The meaning of the phrase in the song is, "Is your mother not here to pay the fee?" *[illegible]* is a pun on [illegible], "little mother." This is followed by another song:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"The little hares, you jump from tree to tree"

881 as he climbs a tree with his back to the trunk; at the top he hangs by his legs and looks down on the crowd, his assistants doing the same. Coming down he runs to his hut; throw-
553 ing his "tail" into the air and catching it again, he enters.

554 This is about nine A.M.; all rest till about eleven o'clock, the wali meanwhile eating food cooked by their mothers in the shelters. About eleven o'clock, the m'michila takes a big gourd and putting his "tails" into it covered with a calico cloth, gives it to his assistant who carries it on his head and follows him to a pool of water, accompanied by all the women except any young ones who have not borne children. He invites them to go "crab hunting."

At the pool he enters the water with his assistants round him, except the assistant with the gourd, who stands on the bank. The m'michila makes movements as of hunting for crabs in the water singing:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"
"There must be hunting otherwise I should have had to eat porridge my without relish!"

He pretends to catch a crab and his hands are immediately grasped by his assistants in the water who all help him to convey it to the gourd as the "tail" is taken out of it.

881 The crowd then returns to *Lupanda* to enact the namlondo ceremony. *Namlondo* is a representation of an animal made of bark on a frame-work covered with mud and painted with flour in spiral markings, hence the name (ndondo is a part of a spiral shell from the Zanzibar coast much prized by natives as an ornament). The animal is really the sable antelope with horns and the m'michila's "tails" in place; there is a man inside it. It is made perhaps a mile away and then brought near to *Lupanda* and placed in a cleared area.

The m'michila on his return from crab-hunting has gone into his hut and put on his full regalia; then, accompanied by his drummers, he comes out and is immediately followed by the wali and the rest of the crowd; knowing where the namlondo will be put, he leads the people in the opposite direction calling out to them to look out for the antelope. They, of course, all look in the wrong direction, so when he knows namlondo is in place, he wheels around and sings, "There is the animal!"

In the old days the chief was present for this, a platform being built for him. When the namlondo appeared, he gave his hunters much powder (no bullets) and they shot at the animal. The animal would fall as if hit and the m'michila would approach to claim it as his beast, but it would promptly get up and charge, to be driven off by the crowd, whereupon it would run away into the bush.

Lots are then cast by the m'michila, using a tortoise shell stuffed with medicine. The wali all stand in a circle with their mothers behind them, while the m'michila goes to the [777] leader and throws the tortoise at the boy's chest. If it sticks there, all is well and he proceeds to each boy. Should the shell not stick on the boy's chest, it portends ill-luck to that individual and he has to be dealt with further. The m'michila, holding his "tail," and his assistant holding a horn of medicine, stand back to back, with the boy between them. They then rub the boy up and down with their backs, after which the assistant throws the horn at the boy's chest. If it sticks, the bad-luck is overcome and the women will trill joyfully with their tongues; if it drops to the ground, evil is foretold and forebodings as to the boy's fate at [illegible] are whispered round. He is given further medicine against the predicted evil, but fate will not again be cast about him. 881

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Next the m'michila sings:

"[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]
"The one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living, come that I may shave thee,
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]"
(the one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living) (Chorus) "*Jendi, jendi!*"

Jendi is a word meaning "sticking up in all directions" and refers to the hair.

One assistant holds a pot of water, a second, a leaf of the [illegible] tree, and the m'michila a razor. They approach the leader; water is rubbed on the forehead by the first assistant, the second smears the place with the leaf. The m'michila then removes a little tuft of hair from the boy's forehead and puts it in the boy's left palm, followed by the nail parings from the left hand, and a tuft of hair from the back of the head. This is done to each wali in turn after which he sings:

"[illegible] [illegible]"
"Let us shave them" ([illegible], to trim by shaving)

as he walks round them, after which the boys go to their mothers who are allowed to trim the hair on the forehead in any way they like. This may take ten minutes, after which they return, still holding their hair and nails in their hands. As they return, the m'michila, thrusting his "tail" under the left arm, starts off, all the wali falling in behind him, and thus he leads the way into the bush accompanied only by the wali, singing:

"*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"The [illegible] sucks the seeds too [illegible]!"

He marches through the forest until he finds [illegible], a small dome-shaped ant hill about a foot high. He carries his "tail" under his arm and a reed-buck's horn of medicine in his hand. Arrived at the [illegible], he chips the top off the ant hill with the horn and his "tail," scoops a hole in the exposed surface with the horn, and then smears this hollow with medicine from the horn. The leader then approaches and drops his hair and nail parings little by little into the hole, followed by each wali in turn; each immediately turns about and never looks back on the ant hill. When all have done so, the m'michila sets the top of the ant hill back into its place, having the "tail" and medicine horn in his axilla; he then turns about and becomes the last of the file as they march back to *[illegible]* while he sings the same song as before.

This particular ceremony is the most sacred of the Unyago as it is known only to the wali. It is the sign of burying the past of childhood. If another m'michila could find such

881 a place, he would take part of it and its contents and add to his own medicine "to make him a more powerful m'michila."

533 On the way back, the m'michila takes a piece of bamboo in his right hand and when he
539 comes to a mjombo sapling, the boys all surround him in a ring; with the "tail" in his left hand he strikes the mjombo sapling, and as it rebounds, he strikes it with the bamboo; while the sapling swings backwards and forwards, he sings:

"*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ni mjombo!*
"Striking I have struck together the bamboo and the mjombo tree!
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!"
sharpen for yourself!"

The m'michila takes both his "tails." Holding them in his left hand against the mjombo sapling, the bushy part of the tails uppermost, and in the other hand a stick smeared with beeswax, he rubs the sapling at a point just below the "tails," still singing the song given above. The stick is said to represent an axe. After this, he takes a real axe and cuts off the top of the sapling. Then all the boys seize the sapling and work the bark off without cutting it anywhere, while the m'michila continues to sing. The bark he puts in his armpit and sings as he jumps about:

"*[illegible] [illegible], ([illegible]) [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"I shall fall into the pit, jumping about here and there!"

When they arrive at *Lupanda*, the m'michila ummon goes to his own hut to make string from the bark, the boys to the place where *Lupanda* is made. This is at about three in the afternoon.

When the string is ready, the m'michila takes it to cross-roads, plaits it into necklaces, and anoints them with medicine for the wali. On his return to his own house, the mothers have cooked porridge for the boys, and the baskets of food are put ready at *Lupanda*. The m'michila then steps in and sings:

"*Tele (aji) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"(A) little mouse (has) many children, mother, all are to be fed!"

As he does so, he takes some food in his hand and puts it into the mouth of the leader, and so on all round, while all the people keep at a distance. Then with a hoe he makes a small mound where *[illegible]* will be erected and puts on it a little of the [illegible] from his house. Here he seats the leader and round him sit all the other wali. The m'michila then sings:

"*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*"
"I will take off heads my today where they go to it seems they will never come back!"

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[1] *[illegible]*, to take a bath.

He collects from the boys' necks the beads they are wearing, lifting them off with his medicine horn; these are all his perquisites, to be sent off to his house. He then starts singing: 881 533

"*Nachilongola Lupanda* agama agulungwe pilile *jakuumaga*, *mchila!*" 539
"The leader (of) *Lupanda* (is) an animal big worth killing with a spear, tail!"

This means to the leader's relatives that the boy is worth a spear; one is promptly brought and leaned against the leader; the m'michila steps up and taking it, bends the spearhead and sends it towards his house. He then sings:

"*Njijila* nati kalongo kwejila nati
"Things which are put to lean up against even little sugar cane to lean things up against even
lupanda kwejila!"
little arrow!"

The relatives then bring all kinds of presents and lean them against the boys; these are the perquisites of the dancing men. The *wali* go away to eat now with their *akamusi* behind the shelters. The *akamusi* tie up any food that is left in leaves, for later use. They then return to the roughly-made *ching'undang'unde* where the m'michila meets them. The *wali* stand in a circle round him and outside them in a ring, the parents, while the leader is set on the *ching'undang'unde* mound.

The m'michila sings:

"*Asampiti ndenga pa mutu'pa lugono* utandi, andunga, ambilanjila!"
"You of the buffalo hair (lit. feathers) on the head you put flour andunga call me."

as he then goes around and touches each *mwali* with his "tail." The idea here is that the *wali* with flour on their foreheads resemble buffaloes which have white patches on their horns, and they will therefore be as strong as these beasts in the bush whither they are about to go.

The m'michila then runs away to his hut and breaking a hole through the back, makes for the bush. The assistants know this disappearance is the signal of his departure for *N'dagala*. This happens about four o'clock. All exclaim "*Aaaah!*"; (to exclaim thus is *kuumira*, "to exclaim with apprehension.") The assistants head off in the same direction, followed by the *akamusi* and their *wali*, while the mothers of the boys who may never see them again, throw sticks on the path as they run away as the sign of forgetting their sons for the time being. 881

All the men will also accompany the *wali* until they find the m'michila. He having left the chief's basket at *Lupanda* has brought some of the *ndepesi* with him in his own basket. One of the men brings a gourd full of water; the m'michila pours some of the water into his basket of flour and gives a drink of this first to the leader and then to each *mwali*

881 in turn. *After drinking*, they sit down while the m'michila gives instructions that here they sleep tonight. He takes his basket and starts to run back to *Lupanda*, singing:

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"*Ku* *tuajile* *palikiya* *uchandaje* *kutenjire* *ku Mwando!*"
"Where we went to masters to Mwando!"

Then going to the back of his hut, he enters and takes a piece of bark left there bent up into a dish containing medicine which has been put in by an assistant. This assistant holds in his hand the neck of one of the fowls which was killed at *Lupanda*. The m'michila washes his face and chest with medicine to cleanse his eyes and then leans forward to the assistant and bites a piece off the neck of the fowl which the assistant holds out, and eats it. This is *ku-lumira*, "to taste a small piece," often the liver, before starting to eat the flesh; this is generally done by the most important person. The m'michila has been followed by his assistants who do as he has done. They all follow him next round the cooking place for the boys at *Lupanda*, each standing for a moment on the stones which have supported the cooking pots, while the women sit looking on sadly. He begins to dance and the women join in, singing *kikwesa*. He then calls the parents of the *wali* and leads them to where the bonfire was. There assembled, he tells them they must not bathe, and that tomorrow morning early, porridge is to be sent to the *wali* which must be prepared by a woman who has had connection with her husband and who has not washed her hands; this is supposed to make the boys strong. Early in the morning, the husband, who likewise has not washed his hands, carries the food to the *wali* and personally gives portions to each boy to eat.

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304 When they have partaken of the food, the circumcision is performed by the m'michila who has returned the same morning early. The *wali* one by one, commencing with the leader, go forward a little to the place where the m'michila awaits them. Each *mwali* is accompanied by his *nakamwasi* who commonly says, "Come along and you shall eat of the honey made by the bumblebee." Such honey is very sweet and called *masuma*. This refers in sarcastic terms to the pain the boy is about to undergo. The boy squats down, leaning back on his *nakamwasi* who supports him, while the medicine-man, having warned the lad not to cry out, performs the circumcision with a small knife called *chisondo*. It is a triangu-
[412] lar knife with one cutting edge and a handle produced from the opposite corner. Properly the Yao method is, I believe, only to nick the *free* margin of the prepuce just to the right of the middle line near the frenum, but complete circumcision is now commonly practised, possibly as the result of Swahili influence. In this case, the prepuce is seized and held by the fingers, and division made by a circular incision without using a clamp or forked stick.
[752] A dressing of charcoal and oil may be applied or medicine is chewed in the mouth and the saliva spat on the wound and the boy sent on to rest under some convenient tree.

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[751] When all the *wali* have been circumcised, they are gathered together in one place and the m'michila dividing them into groups, puts on the neck of the leader of each group a necklace made of plaited bark from the *mjando* tree;[1] these necklaces contain medicine against all evils - witchcraft, attack by lions, etc.

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[1] Vide supra, p. 244.

against all evils — witchcraft, attack by lions, etc. The *akamusi* then set about building 881 shelters in which the *wali* will remain during their term of instruction. According to the number of the *wali* so the number of places where shelters are built may vary from one, two or three, to as many as eight. Each of these places is called *Ndagala*. They may be many [346] miles apart and are so placed for the convenience of the mothers in various groups of villages who bring the food daily to the group of boys from those villages.

The boys when they originally left the village were wearing a large bark-cloth covering, with beads and calico, which latter articles have been taken by the *m'michila* and his assistants. At *Ndagala* they wear simply a loin-cloth of bark.

During their stay at *Ndagala*, the *wali* are given animal names by the *akamusi* who [553] carry on the instruction of the boys until their return to *Lupanda*, the *m'michila* having gone back to his village immediately after the circumcision. The names given to the boys [551] are commonly names of beasts of prey such as Alikule (*likule* — the jackal), Achisuwi (*chisuwi* — the leopard), etc.

Certain restrictions as to diet are laid upon the *wali* by the *m'michila*, e.g. no meat of 881 an animal killed by a beast of prey, no mudfish, *likambale*. He will not allow any villager 262 to visit *Ndagala* after seven P.M. and visitors may only be men who have been through the ceremony. An uncircumcised man is called [illegible], one who has not been to his *Unyago*.

Other restrictions as to foodstuffs may be made by the *akamusi*, generally in connection with the mythical origin of such food substances. A finger-shaped yam called *lipeta* is taboo, as it is said to have first sprung from the grave of a leper, the inference being obvious. After the *Unyago*, the boys have to undergo a special doctoring before they may partake of them. Bananas and rice are similarly refused them, the latter on account of a story to the effect that rice grew from the nostrils of a dead man, the idea doubtless having relation to the resemblance of rice grains to maggots. Fish is denied them by some masters of ceremonies, as it is said to have originated from the diaper of a woman which she threw away [825] while bathing.

Each *m'michila* may have special observances of his own. One near Zomba caused all cassava to be roasted in a certain way. Rows of pieces of cassava were placed in split [252] bamboo spits and so roasted before the fire in the manner of fish. If roasted in the ordinary way, the cassava would split and show the white floury material inside, signified by the verb *ku-lapula*. If this is eaten by the *wali*, it is said that the preputial wound would reopen.

The length of time spent at *Ndagala* varies from four weeks to as long as three or four 881 months. In the first place they must wait till the circumcision wounds of all are completely healed. Delay may be occasioned by complications having arisen in some cases. Again, permission to return may be withheld by the chief for some reason or other. Should one of the *wali* die at *Ndagala*, the body is buried out in the bush and nothing [764] is said to the parents until after the ceremonies are over and all have returned to the village.

881 During the period of seclusion at *Ndagala*, rigorous discipline is maintained among the boys, the day commencing with bathing in a stream whither the *wali* are driven before sunrise, a favorite form of punishment being to make the boy sit for hours in the cold water. Other disciplinary measures take the form of frequent beatings. At one *Unyago* I know of, there was a kind of mutiny among the boys. The *akamusi* from a nearby *Unyago* were called in and the boys received very severe "hidings" for their trouble.

For the entire time, the *wali* are occupied in receiving instruction given by their *akamusi*, on the discipline of manhood; they are taught native custom as applied to their relations with their fellows, an exacting code of etiquette to be observed to their elders, and the observances of married life. They learn to become proficient in the arts associated with their sex — the making of baskets, mats, traps, etc., the method of agriculture, drumming and dancing. They stay up late into the night listening to the stories of their tribal history.

Until such time as the circumcision wound is healed, each boy must cook his own food, after which food is brought ready cooked by his mother.

Posted in the bush a little way from the encampment are some of the boy's guardians, *akamusi* or *alombwe* (sing. *mlombwe*) who act as pickets to warn off innocent or intentional intruders. They are armed with sticks, etc., and give pretty severe treatment to any inquisitive persons they catch. A visitor to *Ndagala* may be required by them to give visible evidence of not being *ndakala*. The mothers who come with food call from a distance, "*Akamusi ndule!*" Answer is made, "*Atutulile tulye!*" "Put down for us that we may eat."

881 When the chief decides that the time has come for the return from *Ndagala*, he sends for the *m'michila*. Arrived in the village with medicine which he has collected, he is
273 given millet by the mother of the leader from which the malt for beer making is to be prepared, also a cock and a hen and a pot. Into the pot he puts a tail feather from the cock and one from the hen, together with his medicine; then the millet, and water is poured on, after which he goes to *Ndagala* and shaves the heads of all the *wali* beginning with the leader and then returns to his own village. When the millet has sprouted, the woman takes it out to dry on a mat, and the two feathers and the packet of medicine are laid on the mat by its side. From this time, all the mothers are busy preparing malted grain for brewing beer, and, when it is ready, the *m'michila* is again called to the village. He orders the women to prepare for brewing, to bring firewood, their brewing pots, and stones to support them on the fire. These are all set round in a circle in the presence of the chief and headmen. Across the stones the *m'michila* lays his "tails" and on the firewood he sprinkles some medicine; the "tails" are then removed and the pots set on the fire. Commencing with the pots belonging to the mother of the leader, he acts similarly all round. The following day, he again visits the scene of the brewing. Putting his "tails" on the ground, he dips from each pot in turn and pretending to drink the sweetbeer from the dipper, he empties it into other pots carried by his assistants. From his own pots, he then empties

some sweetbeer into a big gourd. These his assistants will carry away, together with a hoe, 881
to *Lupanda*, whither the m'michila now goes to remain while brewing goes on for four days. 273

During their stay at *Lupanda*, the m'michila and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the *wali*. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *lupage* or figures in relief of animals, etc., to be described later; *Namungoni* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *ching'undang'unda*. Into the ground where *ching'undang'unda* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *ngauga*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ku-halajele*, is poured by the m'michila.

When the work at *Lupanda* is finished, the m'michila carrying his " tail " leads his assistants wearing their feather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"*Ningabule ubone kunga ahalajele ku musi, malunga achemae!* [533
"I must go and see here perhaps they have mixed at the village, ancestors oh dear! 539]
Chilambo chamajuni ngaiga suna ningawile sala!"
The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the m'michila takes a cup and putting his " tails " on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the leader's mother, pours some on his " tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts more into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the *chief* who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he kneels, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the *chief* who drinks and then returns the cup to the m'michila who finishes it. Picking up his " tail," he then goes straight back to *Lupanda* while his assistants with some men nominated by the *chief* go round choosing pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the *wali* will return from *Ndagala* to *Lupanda*, and in the afternoon, the people from the villages will go out to *Lupanda* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The *wali* at *Ndagala* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sun- 881
set or just after, the place is set on fire and the *wali* have to charge their way through the
back of the shelters. They then form in line, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins [292]
and over this, a kind of kilt called *mapijawisa* if made of frilled-out bark-cloth, or *majenga*
if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the *akamusi*, they proceed towards *Lupanda*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit torch of bark-cloth.

The burning of the huts at *Ndagala* has been the sign to the m'michila that the *wali*
have left; he puts round his waist a bark-cloth belt, *chamba*, and a calico sash round his chest
with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the *liunga* headdress made of 881
the feathers of *chinunga*, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of gnu or zebra, 533
held right end up, with the hollow end filled with " medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out 539

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along the path towards *Ndapala*, to meet the *wali*, accompanied by the drummers and all the women, singing:

"*Makombe kwitengulo wele!*"
"The lemurs down the stream!"

When he meets the *wali*, they all throw their lighted torches at him and he flees back to *Lupanda*. The *wali* continue their procession and are brought round to the still unlit bonfire known as *chilangali*.

At the order of the *m'michila*, the fire is now lighted and the *wali* lie around it. The *m'michila* again appears with the drummers, and all the women and other villagers form a big circle round about. He sings:

"*Chombeko chikwenja mbeja, wandu'wa chikwajogopa!*"
"The (ford) fire is now flaring up people these it is afraid of them!"

Dancing and singing then go on all night while the *wali* lie round the fire where they are allowed to sleep. As dawn approaches, the *m'michila* again sings:

"*Chonde! Mwalira, awaali, Amwuse mwanache, mbale*
"Please! it is crying, you girl, arrange the child, the girdle of beads round its waist
wanache ukapagwa!"
lest there be exposure of the person!"

Amwuse: a woman carries her child bound to her back by a piece of cloth passing under her own arms and tied in front. If the cloth gets loose, she jogs the child up higher on her back as she rearranges the cloth; this is what is meant by *amwuse*.

The *akumusi* waken the *wali* as the *m'michila* sings:

"*Kwambalira waka!*"
"To nose after the scent!"

That is, he is looking about for the *inyago*. He then leads them off to *nalungwani*, the whale, the first of the *inyago*.

I shall first go on with an account of Mlemala's practice to the end of the ceremony and then discuss the *inyago* in greater detail.

Arrived at *nalungwani*, the *m'michila* sings;

"*Nalungwani nalitende, nalungwani asiwili kuchika!*"
"The whale in the pool, the whale has blocked the ford!"

after which he straddles the head of the whale while one of his assistants does the same at the tail and thus sitting, they do a kind of wriggling dance, singing to the time marked by clapping of hands:

"*Nalungwani atumbuwala, ah! ah!* (Repeat) *Apalepala wate kundema; apalepala*
"The whale showed his back above the water, ah! There it did fail me; there
wate kusumba; Kwa, kwa, kwa, kwa!"
it did half break;"

The m'michila then gets off on the left side, his assistant on the right and they stand in the 881
shallow depressions. The m'michila starts asking riddles; he says, "*Ndawi* (riddle)!" and 533
is answered by his assistant "*Jiicha* (let it come)!" Here is one: 539

"*Kangwe,* *kapita* *pasi!*"
"The little mouse it has defeated, it has gone into the ground!"
Answer: "*Michiga!* (roots)!"

He then goes round the crowd for the answer — if they cannot guess, they say, "*Aki asyene,*" "it is yourself (to answer)." There are hundreds of such riddles.

The m'michila points to the tusks depicted in the *chinyago* and tells the people, "Long ago this used to be an elephant; look at the tusks." The hump at its back he tells them is the same as *ching'wadung'unde* which they will find farther along.

They pass next to *mbunda*, the zebra; a pair, male and female, is always figured.

"*Ajiji* *ngati mbunda* *ja mbuje Achilemala!* *Yosope* *yakoto!*"
"This one is it not the zebra of Mister Mlemala! everything (is) beautiful!"

Sometimes a story is told to show that the zebra used to go to the sea to drink but seeing the whale, he ran away and came to the country of the python.

Then to *sato*, the python; he sings:

"*Anasato* *kwajanja!* *perere, eja!* *Yosope* *yakoto!*"
"You python come and answer! all (is) beautiful!"

At the crocodile, *ngwena*, he sings:

"*Changwena* *ulembo,* *perere! eja!* *akugona* *mungwalagala* *meesi!*"
"Mr Crocodile cleverness, he sleeps at the side of the water!"

At *mwesi*, the moon:

"*Amwesi* *ulembo,* *perere! eja, asasa!*"
"You moon cleverness, !"

Next, they come to *wakolele ukana*, the people drunk with beer. Two men lie on the ground, feet to feet with nothing on; the pudenda are covered with bark-cloth and the whole of their bodies painted with earth and flour to look like two female figures in earth. The song is:

"*Wakolele ukana:* *kasalole* *asyeni,* *wakolele ukana!*"
"Drunk with beer: come and see the women, drunk with beer!"

A moral is pointed: the disgrace to a woman who gets drunk, lies on the ground, and exposes her person. [834 689] As the m'michila makes these remarks, the figures breathe stertorously as a drunken woman would. He conducts the *wali* and all the other people past many of the other images such as *chiwisi*, *ngwiro*, *ndemanda*, *nakala*, etc., and only stays at those he considers his own special *inyago*. The seven specially dealt with by Mlemala were as above together with *nakalapi*, the sable antelope:

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"*Anambalapi ulambo, yosope yakata!*"
"You sable deceit, everything (is) lovely!"

Next comes *chomboko*, the ferry. There is no image but two posts represent the ferry; the *m'michila* stands on one side of the two posts with his two assistants opposite him, one holding a bunch of leaves, the other a burning log: the first fans the log of the second, using leaves as bellows, while the *m'michila* sings:

"*Ngumbo, ngumbo, kujikutata, ngumbo!*"
"The female pudenda, where it pushes itself!"

after which the *wali* one by one are pushed through between the two assistants. *Chomboko* signifies the passage from one part of the ceremony to another; here, from the *inyago* to *ching'undang'unda*. *Ku-jomboka* = to cross a stream.

As they reach *ching'undang'unda* the *m'michila* sings:

"*Ching'undang'unda nalilembile jinguwo ngwe jakupochela wamambo!*"
"*Ching'undang'unda* I have marked out if it were calico distinctive of chiefs!"

One of his assistants is told to go and get a pot of beer. When it is brought he sings:

"*Amwali, kamembe, nawile kunyuma!*"
"You girl, little fly, wash your hands behind you!"

881 This is the sign for the woman who volunteers for the service to the leader, to come forward, followed in turn, as each *mwali* is dealt with, by other women. The woman stands
533 back to back with her *mwali* and they hold hands, while the *m'michila* comes and pours a
539 little beer on their hands; they make movements as of washing the hands and then separate,
608 the woman rejoining the crowd, the boy standing to one side until all have performed the rite. This woman ever afterwards is treated by the *mwali* as his adopted sister. After this, each *mkamusi* takes his *mwali* into the bush near by and holding the boy's cloth over the lad's head, he waits there for the boy's relatives to come and redeem him with fees. It is a point of honor that as many relatives as possible shall turn out to show that the boy is much liked, this being, of course, so much the better for the *mkamusi* who gets a present from each. The *akamusi* then uncover the boys' faces and hand over the lads to their mothers who take them away to rest in the shelters.

The *m'michila*, meantime, has withdrawn to his hut, where all the relatives later collect; he then comes out holding his "tail," singing:

"*Kwende akajoje akwanongere koga!*"
"Come and bathe those who love to bathe!"

Each adopted sister or woman guardian takes her *mwali* brother on her back and carries him off to the stream to bathe. The woman sets her *mwali* down on the bank and then leans across his back while the *m'michila* comes along and dipping his "tail" into the stream, sprinkles the boy on the chest with the water. Then the positions are reversed and the woman receives the "tail" on her chest, after which they plunge into the water and bathe, each pouring water over the other. The woman rubs the boy's back and he in turn shyly rubs the back of his woman guardian. Clothes are not removed. Everyone looks on. 881 533 539 608

While this is going on, the m'michila and his assistants build a kind of fence across the return road; as the people start back, he sings:

"*Mato wangu*	*akuwasa*	*namwyene*	*wakumba mesoka!*"
"Fire my	they are buying	I myself	they give me the spirits!"

that is "everyone has got to buy from me the gifts I myself have from the spirits." As each woman comes up carrying her *mwali*, the mother runs out and makes a payment to the m'michila so that her son may be allowed to pass. The boys are carried back to the shelters where they rest. The mother of the leader cooks food into which the m'michila puts medicine; he then gives some to each *mwali* to eat, after which they partake of the food prepared by their mothers, while the m'michila goes to the village for the beer drinking, returning in the afternoon. In the interval the dancing men dance *chamba*, etc. 881

Oil standing in separate basins on the ground has previously been prepared for anointing the *wali*. The m'michila takes each basin and passes it across the palm of his hand on which he has smeared medicine, each basin being set down on the ground again. Taking a stick, he smears it with medicine from his "tail," and he dips it into each basin. He then comes with his "tail" to detect any woman who may have had any sexual intercourse instead of remaining continent during the stay at *Ndagala*. He dips his "tail" into each basin of oil in turn and holds it up for the oil to run off. If the oil runs off in a stream, the mother as she stands behind her basin of oil is welcomed as a good mother; if the oil runs off drop by drop, "*ndoli*," the woman is laughed to scorn. Her basin is changed for that of another woman or her oil is thrown away and some from another basin is put in its place so that no harm shall result to the boy.

The *akamusi* then take the boys into the bush near by. The *magojawisa* dress is removed, the body anointed with the oil, and fresh bark-cloth dyed black is put on. Little bows and arrows are made of small branches and grass and with these the *wali* shoot as they again enter *Lupanda*, putting the bows down on *ching'undang'unda* to the trilling of all the women present.

Immediately after this, the return is made to the village, just after sunset, the women having been busy gathering up all their belongings, while the boys were being anointed.

Some of the assistants lead the procession, the *wali* following in single file, all much subdued and walking very slowly, dressed in the new bark-cloth round the loins, with many ropes of beads round the neck and body, a headband of bark, and down the back a string of beads to which is attached a tassel. Each carries in his hand a wand about five feet long, *ngongo*, with a pattern burned in the shaft and two rattles, *masewe*, affixed at the upper end. [301] [293]

881 While the *wali* thus march solemnly along shaking their wands, the assistants begin singing:

"*Ku mlango asiwira!*"
"To the gate they have shut!"

[533 534] to which the *wali* reply:

"*Kusowa kwakupita!*"
"There is no place where to pass!"

The *m'michila* remains at *Lupanda* till everyone else has left; he then sets fire to the shelters and leaving without looking back, runs to overtake the procession and then leads it on towards the village still at a slow pace, while all around is a yelling crowd of delighted mothers and other relatives and the assistants and drummers, all singing and shouting.

When the outskirts of the village are reached, the *m'michila* halts and waits for the chief to come out and give them permission to enter. The chief brings calico which unrolled on the ground measures the length of the procession of *wali*. Headed now by their leader, the *wali* walk over this calico, while the assistants roll it up behind them for the *m'michila*, as it is part of his payment. Flour may be brought him at the same time, carried by the chief's wives.

At an *Unyago* I witnessed at Kuminama's, the halt was called on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village where a bamboo arch had been erected. The arrival of Chief Malemya at this point with calico and flour was the sign for a demonstration by his young men who ran forward as if in battle, firing off blank rounds from old Tower muskets and executing a kind of war dance.

After the calico has been handed over, the chief returns to his kraal and the procession continues into the village, across the village open space to the fence round the chief's house. There, the *wali* enter by a gateway and disperse over the courtyard where they find [771] their sleeping-mats laid out ready for them by their mothers. The *m'michila* lays his "tail" on the leader's mat to bring good luck thenceforth. With Mlemala, there is no further part for the *wali*, but in some cases they are called upon by the chief to give an exhibition of their dancing and drumming. The *wali* sleep that night in the kraal and disperse the following day.

In the morning, the *m'michila* takes his "tail" and a stirring stick made from a millet stalk with the roots on it, and strikes the ground at points in a row in front of the chief's [273] house. Here the pots of beer which have been prepared are placed in rows, those chosen by the chief and those chosen by the *m'michila*, and drinking commences. The *m'michila*, before he joins in, takes the *wali* to an ash-heap in the village and there sprinkles them with [574] medicine from a grain-mortar after which they go with their *akamwi* behind a house and change into new clothes. Th[illegible] then go and salute the chief by clapping their hands and depart to their villages, duly [illegible] and somewhat subdued by what they have been [553] through. Their new names as "men" may be given them by the *akamwi* either at *Lupanda* or after the return to the village.

or after the return to the village. The boys often wear all their beadwork and new cloth for several days; after carrying their *sipinga* for a similar period, they give them up to their *akamusi*. Together they go into the bush where they break up their wands and put them either into a pit or in the forked branch of a tree. Before the *m'michila* leaves, he brings to the chief all his takings and these are divided between them. 881

Mention has been made above of the *inyago* and it now remains to consider these more fully. The figures vary in subject, in number and in arrangement. At the ceremony at Kuminama's, the following were arranged in a long line beginning with the whale and ending with the python before *ching'undang'unga* (Pl. X, fig. 2). 778 825

1. *Nalumgumi*	the whale (Pl. XI, fig. 7).
2. *Ngwena*	the crocodile (Pl. XII, fig. 1).
3. *Chisui*	the leopard (Pl. XII, fig. 3).
4. *Mbunda*	the zebra (Pl. X, fig. 6).
5. *Ngaka*	the scaly anteater (Pl. XII, fig. 2).
6. *Ndomondo*	the hippopotamus (Pl. XII, fig. 4).
7. *Kanga (nakanga?)*	(Pl. X, fig. 5).
8. *Mbalapi*	the sable antelope (Pl. XI, fig. 3).
9. *Wakongwe wa chilumo-balala*	the woman dead in child-birth (Pl. XIII, fig. 3).
10. *Lyuwa*	the sun (Pl. XI, fig. 4).
11. *Likalata*	the scorpion (Pl. XII, fig. 6).
12. *Mbale*	the plate (Pl. XI, fig. 6).
13. *Likuwunde*	a kind of cloth (Pl. XI, fig. 5).
14. *Njazi*	the lightning-lizard (Pl. XIII, fig. 4).
15. *Salula*	the iguana (Pl. XII, fig. 5).
16. *Mundu*	the man (Pl. XIII, fig. 1).
17. *Lipuluwa*	the wild pig (Pl. XI, fig. 1).
18. *Sungula*	the hare (Pl. XI, fig. 2).
19. *Sato*	the python (Pl. XIII, fig. 2).

Beside these, *Nyasa*, the lake, nearly always appears;[1] *Mwesi*, the moon, the drunken women, and certain animals may be represented, and in addition, *chisala*, "the dwelling place of all the old spirits." Each particular *m'michila* has his favorite figures about which he sings, always commencing, however, with the whale.

Reproduced here is the series of *inyago* at Kuminama's village sketched at the time of my visit. It seems probable that originally the same set of figures was always reproduced. It is hard to trace their significance with any certainty. Natives aver that they are made only for instructional purposes. "The animals are made so that the boys may recognize them, while some of the other figures have reference to customs." They deny the more in-

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[1] Cf. Stannus and Davey, 'The initiation ceremony for boys among the Yao of Nyasaland,' op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 2.

778 teresting possibility of a totemic origin and it is, of course, true that at the present time the Yao have few clan names referring to animals and practically no clan food taboos.

825 At Mkangala's village in September 1912, I saw the *inyago* figures being made. The long grass was cleared away and the earth hoed up into heaps, roughly of the shape and size of the figures to be made. A number of women were employed carrying water from the stream with which the mounds were well moistened and moulded into more definite form. The outlines of the figures were then drawn in, all by one oldish man, with finer moulding on by hand. In drawing *nakanguni*, it was interesting to note how the efforts to keep to symmetry failed.

Of *ngwena, chinsi, ngaka, ndumunde, ndolopi, nakato, lipalame*, etc., I have little to add; the soli are told of their habits, whether they are good to eat, whether they are dangerous, etc.; and all the stories about them. *M'bundu*, the zebra, is always represented in duplicate for some unknown reason. *Sungula* is pointed out in reference to a story the boys have been told at *Ndagala*, namely, that the hare is good to eat but they must not eat it till after they are married and their wives have borne children, otherwise they will be childless. The superstition regarding the hare is mentioned elsewhere. *Njasi* is the hypothetical lizard-like animal which lives above the clouds and is seen as lightning. *Lichandu* is a cloth which the Yao used to wear. In the presence of his chief, a man must not throw a fold over his shoulder. *M'bale*, the plate, refers to the chief's plate from which he eats. *Likolole*: It is said that the old people used to eat scorpions and the people of Mangoche, Amangoche Yao, used to call the Amachinga Yao the "*Makololole* eaters." *Lyuwa* is the sun, the giver of daytime. *Wakongwe* is a representation of a pregnant woman who has died undelivered because her husband was unfaithful. This is a well recognized superstition and one among others of equal moral value, inculcated into the youths during their stay at *Ndagala*. Though rough, *wakongwe* is a very realistic figure. The woman is evidently lying down, as one hand supports the head, the other hand grasps the thigh as if she were in pain; the breasts are made large and the figure being in relief, the prominent abdomen, and expanded umbilicus are noticeable features. The face and pudenda are modelled in clay and superimposed on the earth figure; a maize cob stalk is placed in the nose to counterpart the nose-button worn by women.

In contradiction to *wakongwe*, *mundu* is symbolic of the man who has led a proper life and is blessed with a child. The child is shown on one side. On his other side is seen a conventional illustration of a spear, possibly to indicate that the figure is that of a man. I am not very sure about *Kanga*; it may be meant for *nakanga*, the woman who officiates at *Lilian*; there is nothing about the figure to suggest a woman and I could learn nothing concerning it.

Nakanguni: There appears to be some difference of opinion about this animal. Formerly I accepted the translation given by Scott,[1] namely, the whale. Others have supposed that the word refers to some large animal which lived or may still live in the big lakes. The older natives say of *nakungwesi* that "it lived in the big sea at Zanzibar. It would come and lie on the surface of the water, maybe near a village; then the people would go down and cut lumps of meat off without its knowledge; the wounds healed up immediately. Meat from different parts differed; some was nasty to taste. It was a very large animal indeed and never lived in the lakes." They distinguish it from *lipere* of the Anyanja which was "bigger than a hippopotamus but not so big as nakungwesi, lived in the lakes of Nyasaland, in the deep parts as at Tundu on Lake Chilwa; was very fierce and killed the hippopotamus; would upset canoes. There are no more lipere but probably there might be." One of my informants, a man of forty, said his father had been told of them by his father, but he had never seen them. At the present time, other natives say that the nakungwesi used to live in the lakes but they seem really to refer to lipere and I think looseness of speech only accounts for the idea that the word refers to anything but the whale. Hetherwick translates nakungwesi as a large fish figuring in the initiation ceremonies,[1] a poor description, since it always has four limbs. The word nakungwesi meaning a whale, occurs among the Makwamba people who live at Quilimane. These people do not make any figures on the ground at their circumcision ceremonies but it is interesting to note that their wali carry staffs similar to the sgongo on their return to the village. I think, therefore, there can be little doubt that the word refers to the whale which was probably well known to the Yao before they migrated so far inland as Nyasaland. Whether the word was adopted or not in these parts in the past and used for some indigenous animal now extinct, one cannot be quite sure, but I think it is improbable; I believe the confusion with lipere is of quite recent date. *Lipere* itself appears to have been some large mammal of the hippopotamus type, extinct probably for some time. The stories of lipere resemble those of the monster of Lake Ngami and are not without interest. The most weighty evidence against the animal now depicted at the Unyago and called nakungwesi being a whale, is found in the representations themselves. It has a neck with a knob at the junction of the head with the body and a second knob at the junction of the body, tail and hind limbs; the tail is well marked. The "webbing" between the limbs is, I think, a means of finishing the figure and is not supposed to represent some anatomical feature of the beast. The same is, I think, true of the markings, lines, dots, etc., which are purely decorative. Reference has already been made to its tusks. The little mounds on either side of the body of the animal, on one side within the "webbing," are spoken of as the "little hills" and are not suggested breasts as one might imagine. The hollows have no significance according to my informants except that they are where the *ai'mkulu* stands; the mark which looks like a native hoe, I believe, is meant to represent the hoe which has been used in making the figure. 778 135

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[1] David Clement Scott, "A cyclopaedic dictionary of the Mang'anja Language," Edinburgh, 1892, p. [illegible].

Chingwe, the hoe: the photograph in the article by Dr. Davey and myself of *Nyasa*[2] 778

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[1] Op. cit., p. 180.

[2] Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 2.

773 gives an excellent idea of the average figure. It is circular in plan, often with a little hillock in the centre known as kalunda lungwagwili, "the hill of debt," and disposed in the quadrants are four depressions.

881 When the wali are introduced to Chiputu, they stand round in a circle while the m'michila stands in one of the depressions with perhaps two of his assistants in others.
778 The m'michila sings:

533 "*Ngwee* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], *mama!*
539 "The lake excessive was I born child I would have died on the plain, mother!"
Ningwaile ningwaile"

or

"I have lived by the great lake all my life; I should have died in the plains."

while all three make movements as of paddling a canoe. The depressions are said to represent canoes. I believe this is the recognised form but I have also seen an oblong figure with two outlines of unmistakable canoes. Chiputu is usually found near [illegible].

Chinin, when represented, stands beyond [illegible]. It consists of two trenches at right angles forming a cross, which are covered over with logs and earth and the whole outlined with flour in a decorative pattern. The end of one limb of the cross is left open and round this opening a screen of grass is made. As the wali approach Chinin, some of the assistants or [illegible] descend into the trenches for the ceremony. The m'michila takes up his stand at the centre of the cross and sings:

"Chinin, mama, [illegible] [illegible]"
"Chinin, mother, come on [illegible]"

881 Then as everyone says "Listen, listen!" crying is heard "coming out of the bowels of the
778 earth," followed by drumming and the singing of the chiodindo songs (sometimes [illegible]
[779] or [illegible]); a horn is sometimes heard as well as [illegible], trilling with the tongue against the lips. Chinin is called "the resting place of all departed spirits" and the sounds are said to be the echoes of their doings. The word is not met with elsewhere among the Yao, although it occurs in the Chinyanja and in other languages of this country with the meaning "the heavens."

Chinsomo is said by Hetherwick[1] to be "a large fish that forms one of the pictures at the Unyago," but I have never seen it or heard of it, and I am doubtful of the correctness of the statement.

778 [illegible]. Dr. Davey's photograph[2] is an excellent reproduction of this
[552] figure, which consists of a mound of earth flattened on the top, and decorated with geometric patterns in flour which extend to the ground. In the centre and at the four corners, so to speak, are implanted billets of wood with decorative lines and dots in black and red on the white wood (Pl. X, figs. 1, 2). The billets are three inches in diameter and project twelve to fifteen inches above the ground.

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[1] Handbook of the Yao language, op. cit., p. 143.

[2] Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 3.

The actual meaning of this figure it is very difficult to ascertain. It may be referred to as "the little hill of debt" signifying, I believe, an idea that everyone owes a debt to his *Unyago*, to his progenitors, and to his own future progeny. It is the spot where medicine has been buried to insure the *Unyago* success, and may be looked upon as the keystone of the ceremonies which take place at *Lupanda*. The derivation of the word is probably from *ku-unga*, "to heap up earth into a mound," or maybe from *ku-unda*, "to teach children manners," but it is uncertain as the word is variously spelled; the spelling I have given follows the pronunciation of the old people. 778

Lupanda: This consists of a mound of earth closely resembling *ching'anduny'ande* in shape and decoration with similar wooden billets at the base, while on the top is often planted a branch from a tree (Pl. X, figs. 3, 4). The word is derived from the verb *ku-panda*, "to plant" and signifies the place which the *m'michila* marks for the ceremonies to take place.

Reference has already been made to the assistants of the *m'michila*. The chief assistant has been already mentioned; some three or four others who aid him are friends of the *m'michila* from his own village. They participate at the essential moments of the ceremonies, singing, drumming, or dancing, and together with some of the *akamusi*, take part in *chinta*. Beside these, there are regular bands of trained drummers and dancers who attend *Lupanda* and dance in the village in the morning and at *Lupanda* in the afternoon of the day of return. They usually dance *chomba* and *sanje*. They are men who come for the fun of the thing and, of course, may gain a good deal from presents. On so important an occasion, there is much criticism of their performance. Should one of them not dance well enough to please the old people, they may call out, "Pluck off his feathers!" and the unlucky fellow has all his dancing kit and any clothes beside stripped off and he is driven forth naked, the laughing stock of the crowd. 881

Chiputu: The initiation ceremony for girls is on lines very similar to the boys' ceremony. The age at which the girls take part is from about ten to fourteen years, though lately they have been much younger on the whole, in consequence of the older people's wishes that their children shall benefit from its instruction before they come under civilizing influences and the recently introduced mission teaching.

When a number of girls have reached the proper age in a village or group of villages, as with the boys, the chief is approached and he arranges a date for the ceremony during the same season as *Lupanda* and for similar reasons.

The woman corresponding to the *m'michila* who arranges everything is called *mtesi*. Each girl small about to be initiated is looked after by a woman, her *nakamasi*.

The girls, their guardians, and the mistress of the ceremonies, together with the inhabitants of the villages adjourn, as in the case of *Lupanda*, to a spot some little distance from the main village, called *Chiputu*. Here grass shelters have been erected beforehand and food has been collected.

881 The evening of the first day is called [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], or "the day of singing," as singing is kept up far into the night, but the exact significance of the word [illegible] I have been unable to find out.

[516] The second day is spoken of as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], "the day of washing of hands," ([illegible], "to wash the hands") when the wali are specially instructed as to the necessities of washing hands before preparing food, etc.; precept is followed by practice. The night is spent quietly; for this day's proceedings few people probably will have remained.

On the third day, however, they come back again from their villages in crowds to witness the performance of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], "the day of house moving" ([illegible], "to change one's abode, carrying goods and chattels with one"). A representation is given of an onslaught on a village by enemies and all pretend to run away carrying their worldly goods with them. The part of the attackers is played by a number of women who, armed with guns and having donned belts and powder horns, rush in on the crowd from the bush and make prisoners of all they can catch. The men are put in miniature slave-sticks; women who are seen trying to run off with a child on the back, one round the neck and one on each hip, are driven as prisoners into a group. When all the noise and fun are over, the prisoners are released. This is often followed by a mock trial. Two women dressed up to impersonate chiefs of rival tribes, argue an old, imaginary quarrel, usually pretending that there has been a raid by one party on an ivory caravan going to the coast, with stealing of the ivory, while the other party in revenge has caught and killed some of the people belonging to the first mentioned. The thing may be kept up for an hour with much talking and great zest, all those taking part being women. Finally each party agrees to give compensation for the damage done; each presents the other with bundles of sugar cane, and friendship is reëstablished. That night, everyone again rests quietly.

The fourth day is known as [illegible] [illegible] *[illegible]* ([illegible], "to go round about," referring to the dancing which goes on). Dancing takes place during the day and also the ceremony of *Lukwi* to be referred to later. One of the favorite songs sung this day runs as follows:

[533 539] "*[illegible]*"

"(Took this) a present don't give me fine salt for my little girl, dear [illegible] and we'll have some fun together!"

On the fifth day, return is made to the villages. The girl wali attended constantly by their [illegible] then live together for the period of instruction in huts in a special enclosure in the chief's village or in similar enclosures in a number of villages. The wali may go out into the village but must go about with bowed head and look no man in the face; they wear bark-cloth called [illegible] and should they meet anyone, they must pull over their faces the
[753] kind of hood with which their garments are provided. They may not share food with outsiders. If they did so, the latter would sicken with a disease called [illegible].

The *mwali* thus remain for about a month under the care of their guardians, during which time they receive most valuable instruction as to their behavior to others, especially to their elders and to members of the opposite sex. Their faults are brought home to them and many little pieces of advice given. They are taught the household duties which will be their lot thenceforth and they are forewarned of approaching puberty and what it means to them. [881]

During this period their child-names are not used and until their new names are assigned to them, they are called after birds and animals, generally some of the smaller animals, e.g. *Angingalive* (*ngingalive* = the shrew rat), *Alitowela* (*litowela* = a big species of rat), *Andjedye* (*ngdjedye* = the shrew). I have been unable to ascertain whether these have any totemistic significance. [551]

The girls are usually given a fright to impress on them the danger of lions; one night an imitation of a lion approaching their enclosure is made when all is dark; then all of a sudden one of the *alamusi* armed with big thorns instead of claws will spring upon one of the girls, generally picking out the worst behaved.

When the term of instruction is completed, they again adjourn to Chipeta for two days where *Unyago* is danced on the first night by women, on the second night by men. The first day is spent by a party of men and women in the bush, preparing figures of animals and their dress for the dance. The women wear a small garment of bark-cloth called *matako-gachula*, a word which literally means "buttocks of a frog" but which is used with the meaning of trousers and refers in this case to the fact that the bark-cloth is sewn round the upper part of each thigh into a garment like a pair of knickerbockers. Round the abdomen and chest are worn bands made of short pieces of small, decorticated millet stalks; similar bands are worn on the legs and arms, two on each thigh, two on the leg, one at the wrist, below the elbow, and one round the upper arm. In the dark these give the body the appearance of being painted in alternate bands of black and white. They also wear a head-dress of the same material. [292] [301]

On the first evening of the return to Chipeta, this party of women appears after dark; they dance in a row, advancing and retiring in step, swinging their arms and moving their bodies to exclamations of *Bi-ri! Bi-ri!* Other women dress up as men, wearing long beards made of *Kinnga*, a kind of fibre plant.

The second night, the representations of animals made of grass and bamboo framework supported by men appear, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and various antelopes being the commonest figures, also the zebra made of painted bark cloth. These animal figures are similar to the *nyau* or *nyago* of the *Anyanja* and to those of the *Achewa*,[1] but the condition is unknown among the Yao. [17]

During all these proceedings at Chipeta, the *mwali* seated on mats are the chief spectators and are duly frightened by the performances of the last two days.

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[1] Stannus, "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. [illegible].

The following morning at dawn, each guardian washes her ward, anoints her from head to foot with oil and puts on her body new calico, ropes of beads being worn round the neck, and on the head a little bark-cloth cap fringed with beads called [illegible]. At a given signal, each guardian picks up her ward on her shoulders and pretends to run away with her to her own village. This is the signal for the fathers of the girls to run up and redeem their children by making presents to the guardians. Each mwali is given her new name by her guardian, often the guardian's own or that of the girl's grandmother. The girls are then set down again, a procession is formed and all return to the village, with great rejoicing, as in the case of the boys. The girls then disperse and go back to live with their mothers or grandmothers. The mali may be made to give an exhibition of their dancing; they dance [illegible].

On the occasion of the first visit to *Chiputu*, as a kind of accessory, there is a ceremony for young married men which forms, as mentioned elsewhere, the second part of their initiation ceremonies or *Unyago*.

It is known as *[illegible]* and is a kind of test of manhood. It was formerly considered as important as *Lupanda*, but now, I think, the last *[illegible]* has been performed; for the young men of the present day, largely emancipated from chiefs' rule and freed from the ties of tribal custom, care less and less for their old method of up-bringing.

When *Chiputu* is about to take place, any young newly married men whose wives have not become pregnant are pressed to go to their second ceremony. The wife may ask some woman friend to act as his guardian or some woman may volunteer for the service. Often the young fellow will make pretence of not wanting to go; he may be chased and caught, and with his hands tied behind his back, wearing bark-cloth, he is conducted to the ceremony by other men.

Each young man is attended by a woman guardian and during the first visit to *Chiputu*, they sleep in two rows of grass sheds facing each other, the women in one line, the young men in the other line, each facing his woman guardian, with fires in the free-way between the two rows of huts. Or they may sleep in one big grass shed, each woman-guardian next to the young man she attends, and so in pairs all down both sides of the grass shed, the fires being made in the middle. The young men have to pay for a share in the food and beer made for *Chiputu*, but each guardian cooks for her man.

On the afternoon of *[illegible]*, the young men are taken off to a place in the bush perhaps a quarter to one mile away from *Chiputu*, [illegible] "[illegible]" as it is said.

Here they are formed into a semi-circle of from half a dozen to ten or twenty of them, each with his guardian and a crowd of the grown-up population from the village in attendance. Good advice is given them as to their behavior, especially in regard to their wives and mothers-in-law. Anyone who has any particularly bad trait is sure to hear of it now, the mother or father of the young man having arranged that it shall be brought up. The woman guardian shows to her man red and white beads in her hand and tells him that white indicates health while red means sickness, thereby pointing out to him their deep-rooted beliefs in the diseases associated with intercourse or association with women during menstruation. 881 842

Then follows a test of manhood. The woman guardians put little pieces of stick (*lukuni* = sticks or firewood) on their heads and sing: [533 534]

"*Ngwapa achiwenga lukuni* [illegible]"
"I must give my wife (when sick) firewood of the [illegible] although it gives lots of ashes!"

What is meant is that when his wife is ill, the husband should fetch the firewood even though he does not know which woods give least ash; the [illegible] tree gives many ashes. The little piece of wood a few inches long with a notch in the middle is then handed to the young man by his guardian. He places it on the ground in front of him, kneels down, and with a small axe he attempts to divide the stick at the notch. If he is successful, he is greeted with cheers, clapping, and much rejoicing. By proving his power to hit straight, he has also established his manhood; it is prophesied that he will soon have children. Should he miss through nervousness, shouts of derision welcome him and his guardian shows her disgust with his performance. If he is a young fellow well-liked in his village, he may be allowed to make a second attempt. After this ceremony, each couple bathes each other in their clothes by pouring water over the head and body without removing the clothes, thus making brotherhood. Forever after the man must treat this woman with great respect, must not address her for some time, and then only after making her a small present.

The woman guardian picks up the two pieces of the broken *lukuni* and on the morning before they all leave Chiputu, the mother or sister of the young man gives her a string of red or white beads saying, "These are to bind up the bundle of wood." The man's guardian binds up the pieces of wood with the beads and gives it to her man. When they have returned to the village, they go to the young man's wife and he presents them to her. The guardian, however, steps in and slips off the beads which she keeps, while the wife, pleased at her husband's success, drops the two pieces of wood into the fire.

During the weeks that the girls still remain under instruction in the village, those young men who have been *lu-lukuni* sleep in one big enclosure away from their wives and do not cohabit until after the second return from Chiputu is made.

Another *lu-lukuni* test sometimes, I believe, introduced into Yao ceremonies but really one practised by the Mpotola people and not proper to the Yao, is as follows: [177]

The guardian lies on the ground, wearing a small loin-cloth, and holding beads in her clenched hands, red in one, white in the other. The man standing at her feet, bends over her and projects saliva on to her abdomen through a rolled up leaf held between his lips, at the same time clutching one of her hands. If he chooses the hand containing the white beads, he is hailed with delight as a man indeed, but should he choose the hand containing

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842 the red beads, he is jeered at and laughed to scorn. In this case, the white beads are held to indicate semen, the red beads menstrual blood.

843 *Litiwo*: This ceremony is enacted at the time when a young married woman quickens with her first child. *Litiwo* ([illegible], to plait) refers to the plaited cord put round the woman's neck. The woman and her husband both are present, and in addition, only women, possibly with their babies.

For the man, *Litiwo* is looked upon as the third or completing ceremony of his *Unyago*. He must have been to *Lupanda* and *Chiputu*, otherwise he cannot be admitted to *Litiwo*. If, however, the husband is not eligible, some other man who has completed his *Unyago*, is married, and has children, may act as proxy to a woman at *Litiwo*.

[85] In every district there is generally some woman who arranges and conducts the ceremony. She is called nakanga; naturally, no European has been present at *Litiwo* but my information was gained from [illegible], a woman who for years acted as nakanga in the villages round [illegible]'s kraal, and [illegible], her old mother who had acted in the same capacity before her and who had come from the old Machinga country where her mother in turn had been a well-known nakanga.

When a woman quickens with child for the first time, her women-folk visit the local nakanga, saying, "We are going to dance so and so (naming the woman) and to get bananas. Tomorrow, we start pounding flour. In three days we shall be ready, and you will come over to arrange things." At the appointed time, the nakanga having partaken of food early because she will not eat for the rest of the day, goes out of the village to some spot a half-mile away in the bush and there sees that all preparations are made and sufficient food collected. The food is supplied by the mothers of the man and woman, and consists essentially of beans ([illegible] and [illegible]), porridge, sugar-cane, and bananas, but no beer.

All being ready, a procession in single file leaves the village for the appointed place, the woman's sponsor leading, the woman followed by the husband and his sponsor (a woman), and the married women assembled from nearby villages. The sponsor is known as [illegible] or [illegible]. Neither [illegible] nor nakanga may have sexual relations with their husbands till after the birth of the child. The woman wears bark-cloth stained black, but may wear blue cloth on returning to the village, while her husband is decked out in his finest cloths and ornaments. They have partaken of food early in the day as they fast until the next day.

Arrived at the place, the man and woman take up their positions on mats separated from each other by some twenty or thirty paces, each with his [illegible]. The man's [illegible] sits on the same mat with him and never leaves him throughout the ceremony. The woman preserves a dignified quiet but the man is expected to make the most of himself sitting with hands on hips, and displaying his fine clothes worn after the fashion of a chief.

While all the assembled crowd of women sit round in a semi-circle, the nakanga commences the proceedings, singing a number of songs to the woman and the man in turn, the other women joining in the refrain. A number of these songs are here given but each [illegible] has her own favorites which she sings. They are only sung at *[illegible]*. 843 843

[illegible]; Chorus *[illegible]*. 533

Now you are clucking before laying an egg. Be content then, you must not be running about any more: (Chorus) Call her back for me. 539

Ku-[illegible], " to cluck as a hen " comes from *to! to!* the sound of the hen. Another song is:

[illegible] Chorus *[illegible]*.
You must cluck, cluck, cluck, little woman.

A set of songs sung by [illegible] are as follows:

1. *[illegible]*
   I have a headache, surely; oh dear me!
2. *[illegible]*
   Startled (like a rabbit), little girl running like a wild animal.
3. *[illegible]*
   The rabbit they praise for its cleverness!
   [illegible]
   He caught (the name of a little bird) and cut his hair in the [illegible] fashion!
4. *[illegible]*, Chenjerere *[illegible]*
   I have a good heart; I am contented, Chenjerere has gone!
   [illegible]
   He has taken away all his dancing things, dear me! oh dear me!
5. *[illegible]*
   Those who are speaking (an exclamation) show us that we may see!
   [illegible]
   The bamboo has fallen with the wind, they shivered with fear (an alluvial plain), (a thing which is stuck) (well-dressed).

In native songs, full poetical license is indulged in and it is often difficult to give exact translations of them. The first has reference to the woman making a fuss because she feels ill with her pregnancy; this she is not supposed to do. Number 2 refers to the fact that she has a new experience which may cause her to be startled, but she need not fear. In number 3, [illegible] is a bird which has a mark running back on either side of the mid-line of the crown of its head, resembling a method of hair dressing wherein two bands are shaved from front to back parallel to the mid-line. Chenjerere (number 4) is the name of a man but this reference is apparently now without point. Number 5 is sung by the [illegible] when she hears murmurs of others in the crowd starting to sing other songs; she intimates, " Here are we singing, let us hear you others who wanted to sing; you are probably afraid now?" In the latter part of this song, words are made use of which have a slang meaning known only to women. *[illegible]* is a woman's slang word for the female pudenda; [illegible], 843 539

843 538 when in child-birth there is delay in delivery it is said of the woman "*Ahdeleu*," "she is stuck," from *ku-deleka* "to be suspended, to be caught by a thorn"; *wajeje*, well drawn, is a slang exclamation meaning "everything, everything is out!" The verse refers, of course, as all obstetricians will recognize, to the moment of crowning of the oncoming head during parturition when it appears to be stuck; then suddenly it slips over the perineum and "everything, everything is out."

843 533 The nakanga now gives way to the songs of the other women. In different districts different versions of the songs are sung, but the other women will quickly pick up the refrain of the song sung by a woman who has come in from some distance.

843 After these songs, the nakanga instructs the woman and her husband in the care they must take until after the child is born. Macdonald says, speaking of the instructions "but of the quality, we prefer to be silent."[1] What a pity he allows no one else to judge!

The woman is especially cautioned against sitting with her legs crossed; they must be kept apart lest the child in her womb be suffocated. She is also told many useful things concerning her pregnancy and confinement. The husband is cautioned to cease intercourse with his wife or if he has intercourse, his wife may not lie on her back, lest the child be injured.

[751] While this instruction is going on, all the assembled women cook and eat the feast which has been made for them. When all has been said, the nakanga anoints the man with castor oil, which has in the meantime been warmed, and ties round the neck of the woman the *litiwo*, a cord made of plaited bark-cloth with a tassel in front; at the base of the tassel white beads are strung for good luck, and at the end of the tassel, red beads are affixed, having symbolic reference to the haemorrhage at the time of childbirth. The woman wears only a strip of calico of two hands breadth called *msalu*. She is anointed on the head, body, and limbs.

[433] The tying of the *litiwo* is the sign for dancing to begin. It is a dance in which women try to excel one another. They come with all their tattoo marks on buttocks, thighs, and abdomen renovated; they wear diaper-fashion a narrow strip of cloth, always black in color, and round their bodies numerous strings of beads. With the beginning of the dancing, their other clothes are thrown off and practically naked, they vie with one other in exhibiting their charms and skill in dancing, which afterwards becomes the subject of much discussion among the women onlookers. "So and so is really too old and skinny for such exhibition," and "So and so has buttocks as flat as a wall," while "Such and such a one is fat and beautiful and dances wonderfully, with such abandon," etc. In front of the woman is set a wooden plate, in front of the man a mat, and on these are thrown donations by the dancers and onlookers, consisting of beads etc., or nowadays pennies and small silver coins to help to pay the expenses of the entertainment and, in the woman's case, to buy medicine which may be necessary should the baby fall ill. When the wedded couple are

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[1] Macdonald, op. cit., vol. I, p. [illegible]

generous and popular, the donations may mount up to a useful sum. Dancing goes on late into the afternoon when all return to the village. 843

The man may not speak to his guardian again until after the birth of the child. The two women guardians, the *mkamwali* and the *nakanga*, as a rule cease sexual intercourse with their husbands during the same period or, at all events, during the last month before the birth of the child.

The child born of a woman who has not gone through *Litiwo* is buried alive. [847]

Chieftainship. The Yao when they migrated to their present country were headed by a number of their chiefs. These eventually settled in different areas adjacent to one another, 622 each ruling over a considerable tract of country. The chief was supported by a number 643 of headmen, each of whom looked after a village; the chiefs and headmen in turn being assisted by the village elders.

Often among a chief's councilors one found a number of his relatives, and sons and 643 brothers were often made headmen. A man assuming chieftainship often had to dispose of a brother of whom he was afraid.

Chieftainship is hereditary, the chief's name being passed on to each successor. Succession is to eldest son of the eldest sister or a son of some other sister. Failing these, it passes to a grand-nephew. If there is no acceptable adult nephew, a full brother may succeed.

Macdonald's account of the Malemya's succession[1] is, I believe, incorrect. The old [114] Malemya (Nakatumba) was succeeded according to custom by his nephew, Kambola who, as Malemya, was called Ndalama. Kumtaja was not a younger brother of Nakatumba or Kambola, but a cousin of the latter. Ndalama was succeeded by a nephew, not the eldest but the second son of a sister, the eldest having already succeeded to the chieftainship of Kumtaja was therefore ineligible. The present Malemya will be succeeded by a grand-nephew, the son of a daughter of his eldest sister, his sister having no sons.

A successor inherited all the wives and slaves of the deceased chief and all his goods 643 and chattels, guns, ivory and gardens. Any small possessions might be divided among the 428 deceased's children and in the case of guns, those who had always used them often laid claims not to be separated from their weapons; these claims were often allowed by the new chief.

In the same way, any ordinary man's successor is his nephew, the son of a sister, who inherits all goods and chattels and slave wives, but not free-born wives, nor gardens, which go to the free wives. Stock is generally divided among the children.

Before 1891, when a British Protectorate was formally declared over Nyasaland, each 643 chief ruled supreme. He was consulted as to the dates for *Unyago*; he directed the harvesting, etc.; he proclaimed war and generally was paramount among his people. It will be seen, therefore, that he was a busy man, but he received no direct remuneration. His [554] wealth consisted of slaves and ivory. Slaves he obtained in warfare and as blood money,

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[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. [illegible]

643 ivory by his own hunting parties or as a kind of tithe on other hunting expeditions. The ground tusk, i.e. the tusk on the side on which the elephant falls when killed, was the chief's share. In the same way, the hind leg on the ground side of any game animal killed was sent to the chief. He took a share of the spoils of war and most of his people yearly gave him either service in building houses, etc., or kind in the form of food-stuffs, but he enforced no service and levied no tax, except for the making of a new burial place.[1] New settlers in his village were expected to invite him to drink beer made with their first crops.

In return, he always provided cloth to invest the body of the dead. He also made presents at the time of *Unyago*.[2]

A chief's life, therefore, may not be "all beer and skittles," though he consumes a good deal of the former and a kind of skittles[3] was a favorite pastime of one of the Malemyas. A saying embodying this idea was used when pleading for a man who had [538] committed adultery with his chief's wife "one who carries a tortoise (on a string over his back) is likely to get his clothes soiled"; a man has to put up with the troubles his belongings bring him. So a chief must bear with his own people who do wrong.

643 Ample opportunity for exercising such forbearance was provided, since the chief was the prescriptive adjudicator of all disputes and dispenser of justice in all crimes. The headman 692 did the same in a smaller way but appeal could always be made to the chief. Cases were heard by the chief sitting in council. He and his headmen and elders would assemble in the village open space and here cases were stated, often at great length.

Each party to the case would employ some man well known for his powers of oratory as leading counsel. The speaker for the plaintiff would start proceedings by a recital of all the evidence he could collect. After him would follow innumerable speakers, whether actual witnesses or not, each telling as good a story as he could, and the defendant's case would then be put by his representatives. There was no cross-examination but at the end, a summary was made and judgment given. A chief often took the advice of some one of his old men whom he trusted.[4] The chief received no payment for his services, except in the case of murder; neither did the "counsel" receive anything for their efforts.

674 **Crimes.** Causing the death of a person by witch medicine, *ussawi*, was the most heinous [354] crime; a *mwavi* ordeal might be held, but if the offense was proved, burning was the punishment which usually followed.

[619] The offense second in gravity was adultery. This might be expiated by payment or by death, according to the circumstances under which it occurred; mutilation was often [619] performed in the case of a chief's wife. All death sentences with the exception of those

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[1] Vide supra, p. [illegible]. [2] Vide supra, pp. [illegible]. [3] Vide infra, p. [illegible].

[4] The old Malemya ([illegible]) has some very fine men among his counsellors. [illegible] and [illegible], the latter renowned for his memory, were his chief advisers in legal matters. [illegible], a slave, was his steward in all personal and family affairs, while [illegible] was in charge of all [illegible] and served with his [illegible] on high points on all occasions of [illegible]. Others noted in his [illegible], such as [illegible] who always went in any [illegible] to the [illegible], among whom he was known as [illegible].

for witchcraft were carried out by strangling with a piece of calico at a place appointed for the purpose some miles from the chief's village. 674 676

There was no case against a man who seduced an uninstructed girl, the latter being considered entirely at fault. 684

After divorce, the children always remained with the mother. The man left his wife after the case, saying, "I will take my spear and some of the goats and chickens, but the children will always know their father." 586

Murder was a question of compensation to the deceased's relatives and was not punished by death. 682

Stealing was a serious offence but many who were found guilty were rather despised than punished. The thief with the stolen goods tied about his body but otherwise stripped naked would be driven through the village and prodded with sticks to the sound of drums and hoots of derision. Most crimes, however, might be punished by exacting compensation. Payment took the form of goods or slaves. In the case of murder, the accused might have to pay several slaves to the deceased's relatives, and in addition, a fine to the chief for spilling blood, consisting perhaps of one slave. The amount of compensation expected was mentioned by the plaintiff in the case. One of the expressions used was, "My compensation must cover an ant hill," meaning enough slaves, standing hand in hand, to surround an ant hill; ant hills in this country are sometimes very big. If a man had no slaves, he would send his relatives or he himself might be forced to become the slave of the plaintiff. There is a saying about this practice: 685 681 539

[illegible]
The monkey they tied (with) tail his (own).

Slaves passed over to a man in payment for crime became free men; they were an addition to the village and might even be adopted in place of a murdered individual. 567

When compensation was made by the defendant to the plaintiff, the latter always returned some part of it as a sign that friendship was again established.

Goods or money received in compensation for murder, i.e. blood money, might not go for the purchase of food or clothing. Detection of a guilty party by means of magic and proof of guilt or otherwise by ordeal poison are dealt with elsewhere.

Bluffing anyone into giving something for nothing, obtaining goods by false pretenses, was not considered a crime, as anyone was "fair game." For instance, a party of youths would waylay a man with a load of fish, saying they had been ordered by their headman to commandeer it. If the man parted with his fish, so much the worse for him; if he showed fight, he was respected and friendship made with a give-and-take of fish and snuff. Such bluffing is called *[illegible]*, "to eat with them." To add to their appearance of bona fides, the party might have secretly borrowed some well-known article belonging to their headman. 674

567 **Slavery.** Slaves were acquired by capture or purchase, or were received as payment. Prisoners taken by the vassals of one chief in a fight with the partisans of another chief became slaves. Slave raids were also made by the Wayao upon the weaker Anyanja or again expeditions were sent out hundreds of miles away into the Chipeta country to buy slaves.

[812] Slaves were a man's goods and chattels, to do with mainly as he pleased, but no man might kill a slave without bringing the case before his chief and obtaining consent. While some were bought and sold and sometimes found their way into a slave caravan bound for the coast, many, perhaps the majority, lived the life of ordinary individuals in the villages. A man who was unhappy in a village and wished to escape from his vassaldom might run away to another village and there commit some act so that he might be claimed as a slave. The custom was to go to the village and sit by the site of a house which had been pulled down after the death of the occupant, and the saying is, "He has been called by the dead man's spirit."

[554] Many a slave has become an important man in the village and slaves were often the trusted advisers of their chiefs, but there was no means of becoming a freeman. Neither a slave himself nor a second party could purchase his freedom. A slave capturing another man in warfare, for instance, could not ask for his own freedom in exchange for his captive, but anyone so taken became, in a way, the slave of a slave, and the master could not sell the second slave without the permission of the slave captor. An old slave might often be allowed to do just as he pleased and to all intents and purposes was a free man, but he was never actually freed. A slave might earn a return for work done for others than his master; part of this he would probably give to his master, but there was no regular tax upon such earnings.

The idea in accumulating slaves seems to have been to increase the population of the villages and hence their power and progeny. This is borne out by the fact that marriage between free men and slaves was allowed. Marriage between a free man and a slave woman was unaccompanied by any ceremony and was therefore rather in the nature of recognized concubinage. Such a wife, if unsatisfactory, could be sold out of the village, but generally she was well treated. The children of two slaves were of course born into slavery; the children of a slave woman by a freeman husband, were not quite emancipated, tho the father could not remove the child from the village of the slave mother's master, and in very extreme cases, it might be sold by him. [582]

Women might marry slave husbands and often a master married his daughters to his slave men whom he thought well of. This amounted to a guarantee to the slave that he would never be parted with. A woman with a slave husband could not leave him informally; she could not sell him, inasmuch as women have no property. [591]

[illegible] **Land Ownership.** The ownership of all land was vested in the chief, but he appeared to hold it in trust for all the people over which he ruled. Headmen had no land rights.
423

There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the plotting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden the next season simply marked the site in the bush by scoring some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and hoed this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village. 423

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission. 361

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc. 423 [789] [778]

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The beer-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and beer placed in it to insure his continued guidance. [769]

In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the sponsors of the wives went to the sponsors of the husbands and asked permission to move the village.[1] Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the sponsors invited to come and drink and "put feet in the new village." [203]

Relationship. Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (Fig. 1) the relationship of the two children (C 8) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the *achibale* and *mose* but are addressed as *amao* and *atati*. The maternal uncles older and younger than the mother (B 11 and 13) are called *ajomba* and their wives (B 12 and 16) *akongwe*. The maternal aunts are addressed as *amao*, mother, anyone older than the mother being distinguished as *amao achekulungwa*, "the bigger" (B 15), a younger aunt as *amao anandi*, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed *atati*, *atati achekulungwa* (B 14), and *atati anandi* (B 18). On the father's side the uncles are called *atati achekulungwa* (B 1) and *atati anandi* (B 5), respectively, for those older and younger than the father, and their wives *amao achekulungwa* (B 2) and *amao anandi* (B 6). The paternal aunts are called *atati akongwe* (female uncles) (B 3 and 7), their husbands (B 4 and 8) *atati*. 593 601

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[1] Vide supra, p. 266.

593 The children of maternal uncles (C 6 and 8) and of paternal aunts (C 3 and 4) are
601 called cousins asiwani (sing. msiwani), and, conversely, the children of maternal aunts (C 7 and 9) and of paternal uncles (C 1 and 2) are called "brothers and sisters"; one would address the other as "chemwali" or "achimwene," but either is mlongo to the other.

601
605 It is interesting, therefore, to note that cousinship is of two kinds: the relationship between a child and his maternal aunts' children or his paternal uncles' children is ulongo, whereas the relationship with his maternal uncles' children or his paternal aunts' children is usiwani.

[611] It is easily understood why the maternal aunts' children are considered as brothers and sisters, as among the Yao, matrilineal descent is the rule, the children taking the clan of

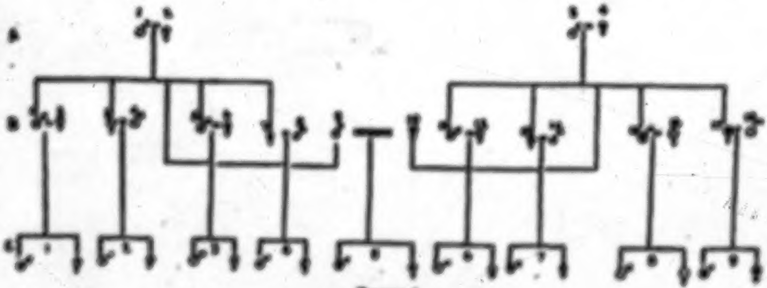

Figure 1

the mother. In the diagram, this is indicated in black. That the paternal uncles' children bear the same relationship would seem to indicate that matrilineal descent is not absolute but that dual descent from both parents is recognized.

[582] Children C 5 may not marry C 7 and 9, nor C 1 and 2. In the case of the former, this is because persons of the same clan may not marry, but in the case of the latter, no such reason is given but they are simply said to be brothers and sisters. Children C 5 may marry their cousins C 6 and 8 and C 3 and 4, but this is not very common as it is said such marriages are always unhappy.

604
604 The wife of a maternal uncle (B 12) speaks of her nephew by marriage (C 5) as mume, husband, because, in the event of her husband's death, this nephew would inherit from him and he might marry the widow.

604 A parent-in-law or child-in-law is called [illegible] indifferently. Paternal and maternal grand-parents, and great-uncles and aunts are all called ambuje; a grand-child, chisukulu.

The words atati and amao commonly mean father and mother, but, as given above, there are other words for these two parents, whereas atati and amao are applied to certain aunts and uncles as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of *wanale* to the person. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called *atati* (*atati wakongwe*) and their husbands *atati* again. 601

An elder brother is [illegible], his younger brother [illegible], a sister *mlumbu*, *mlumbu wamnandi* and *mlumbu wakulungwa*, younger and elder sister.

Disease. Apart from old age, the native recognizes in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way. 753 754 164

The names given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomonic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus *chitumbo* (the belly) meaning stomach ache, *meso* (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The sense which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chilwele* signifies any disease or illness; *chilope* and *chipindupindu* refer to epidemic diseases; the former refers to a disease of fowls and dogs characterized by wheezing and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chipindupindu* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word [illegible], which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think. 164 753 192

[illegible]: a liver disease of fowls.

Chipago: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupagwa* = to be born with).

[illegible]: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

[illegible] (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; [illegible] fistula is also included. Children examine each other to see how many "cousins" each has; any-one with none is made fun of.

[illegible] ([illegible] = a big lump): a hunchback.

[illegible] ([illegible] = to [illegible]): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

[illegible]: a localized pain in the head.

[illegible]: giddiness.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

164 *Chibuli*: deaf and dumb (Chin.); the word is used in slang to mean impotence.
Chiwindo: an old word meaning high fever.
753 *Chilundulundu*: "wakongwe wawile chilundulundu," the woman died in confinement
192 without giving birth (unopened). The sense of dumbness and constipation are secondary.

Kubikika: constipation.

Malundangali: colic; *Mnyunyu*, rumblings in the bowels, borborygmi.

Mundindili: "pins and needles."

Chilonu: sore and swollen gums, pyorrhoea; has been translated scurvy.

Chinyangalulu: hardened skin, like a corn on the hand.

Njoola: without eye-lashes, as result of disease.

Ndandiguni, *Lunguukini*: indistinctness of vision (Hetherwick).

Lesuu: watering of the nose; nasal catarrh.

Mandako: the secretion at the corners of the eyes in the morning, also the purulent secretion of conjunctivitis (Hetherwick translates "watering of the eyes").

Namila: nasal mucus.

Chindendipala: crusts from the nasal passages (Hetherwick translates merely "nasal mucus").

Likosomola: cough.

Chinangwanga: after-pains of labor.

Ngwikwi: hiccough.

Ng'wang'wa: nystagmus, from a verb meaning "to look from side to side aimlessly."

Iwanga: any skin eruption supposed to be due to eating various substances, chiefly meat.

Ku-lilimala: to have a rash on the body of the nature of urticaria.

Ngalakala: the name of a condition in which the place where a man passes water becomes whitened; hence it refers to syphilis, bilharzia, etc.

Chikonokono (*likonokono* = a snail): the white on the ground resembling a snail track left by a man with *Ngalakala*.

Ndwui or *Mbili*: smallpox.

Ndengele or *Kawilala*: chicken pox; this term may also include other diseases with similar rash, i.e. modified smallpox and pemphigus.

Chindembo (*ndembo* = an elephant): elephantiasis.

Matana: leprosy.

Mapwanpwanu: yaws (*chimatuli*, given by Hetherwick as "rodent ulcer," is a Chinyanja word for yaws).

Chindoko: (Swahili) syphilis.

Chisonono: (Swahili) gonorrhoea.

Lukolikolo: whooping-cough.

Chikuku: measles.

Mbuno: asthma.
Chikululu (ku-kulula = to scrape out): diarrhoea, dysentery. 164
Chipungo (nkungu = warthog): swelling at angles of jaw, mumps. 753
Lisonkho: nasal or bronchial catarrh. 192
Msuko: insanity; temper, delirium of fever (Hetherwick translates as periodic madness).
Mbulu: asthma.
Lisikosiko: goitre (lisikilo: pomum adami).
Nakasanda: keratoderma of hands and feet.
Chimpopopele: a pustule.
Chisusulukuta: a boil.
Chikanga (nganga = the spotted guinea-fowl): ring-worm of face.
Liwanga: any mark on the skin, e.g. birthmark, pigmented spot, ringworm, scar.
Bununu: a wart.
Nkandi: a burn of the skin.
Lipukusu: a keloid scar (Hetherwick gives "boil").
Luupo: a rash after shaving.
Lituku: a blister.
Chipukusu: a wheal after a blow or an insect bite.
Chiipa: oedema of a limb.
Chipupa: whitlow.
Lipute: an abscess; sore, pus.
Lituluga: an abscess; (ku-tutuka: to swell).
Lilonda: a sore or ulcer.
Nkungungungu: a chronic ulcer.
Lisesele (ku-sesela = to come to life again): an ulcer which heals and then breaks out again.
Lisimbukile: secondary enlarged glands in groin or elsewhere from a sore on the foot, etc.
Nkoli: Any freely movable lump under the skin, e.g. sebaceous cyst, patella, ganglion, etc.
Chikuma (ku-kuma = to bite): rheumatism.
Upere: itch, scabies.
Ntoda nkamwa: thrush.
Luuwe: diarrhoea in infants with green stools.
Lukasu: passage of blood in urine; Urinary Bilharziasis.
Ng'ala: ulcer or leucoma of cornea.
Ching'ang'u: rabies in dogs.
Liunduni: round-worm of man.

164 *Mangongolesi*: round-worm of dogs or found in the ground.
Wakongwe wajumu: a barren woman (lit. dry).
753 *Chisungula*: sterility in the male.
192 *Chigungula or gojo*: an impotent man or *Mundu jua igugu*: a useless man!
Mpuli: impotent.
Mdulu (*ku-dula* = to cut off): a "cut man"; a man seen after he has been castrated.
Mlongo: a eunuch after he has become fat.
Namtondiru (*nalimtsimi* Chin.): the word is derived from *kutonda*, to micturate. Natives say that when disturbed, the insect of this name which is a locustid, *Eugaleopsis durandi*, makes water which falling on the skin of the passer-by causes ulceration. I have seen a variety of cases of extensive ulceration due to syphilis, etc., assigned to the effects of this insect; I have, however, shown that it does secrete a corroding fluid from pores at the sides of the body which dropped on to the skin will dissolve the superficial layers of the epidermis and should such abrasions become infected, ulceration may, of course, result.
Utenda: tremor, similar to the movements of one of the wasps.
Mtenjenje: tremor of old age, paralysis agitans.

164 192 753 608 The preceding short list of words will give some idea of the richness of the language in some directions and also its limitations. There now follows an account of diseases which are based on superstition, generally connected with the idea of uncleanness or the transgression of some rule of life. Whatever the symptoms, if there has been a transgression, the disease is labelled with the name of the disease supposed to follow the act. Similar diseases are to be remarked among the other tribes in the country; some of those relating to the Anyanja I have already mentioned,[1] and the following may be read as an amplification of the remarks previously made.

Chingwa (*Kangwa* Chin.) from *kunga*, to defecate: At the birth of a child, if the contents of the bowel (meconium) are passed before the body is born (as often happens in breech presentations), the child is said to be "born with disease." One of the women attending the confinement will always go out and inform the husband of what has happened, saying, "*Apali 'chesene*,'" (it is born well) or "*Apali ni chilweli*," (it is born with disease). This only refers to the passage of meconium and not to any antenatal disease.

When this significant event has happened, the husband may not occupy the same sleeping mat as his wife and have intercourse with her until the child of its own accord crawls from the mother's sleeping mat to that of her husband on the other side of the hut; *Kupitiqa mwanache ku mguma* (*Ku-pitiisa mwana ku mpasa*, Chin.) = "to go the child to the mat." Should the husband disregard this custom, he will sicken with *Chingwa*. The symptoms commonly ascribed to *Chingwa* are pain in the loins and in the hypogastrium.

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[1] "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit.

This has led to the word being translated as Bright's disease (Hetherwick). No symptoms 164
referable to the prolapsus are included under this disease. *Msuro* (Chin. *Kupundu*): hy- 192
drocele; said to be another sequela. A woman soiled by the excrement of her infant after
birth is not considered unclean and intercourse will have no ill result to the husband. 753
Sometimes in the event of *Ayali wi chilonda*, recourse is had to the practice of intercourse 688
between the woman and some other man. She is thus rendered "clean" and the man who
is not her husband will not sicken. Such a man is called *Lihuwa* (see Widowhood).

Lusasi: a disease similar to *Chigoru*, which inflicts a man having coitus with his wife who has not been cleansed after abortion.

Kusiniwada: a practice indulged in if a new-born child falls ill; the word refers to the "hardening" of pots when they are being made and the same idea is applied to the child. If the new-born child gets fever, the illness is ascribed to the *carunculae myrtiformes* about the vulva of the mother. These are cut off by an old medicine-woman and the blood allowed to drop into a mortar; water and stone leaves are added and pounded together, and the mother attired only in a cloth reaching to the loins, washes her breasts with the liquid while the baby is supported on one thigh; the child is then given the breast and the mother, turning her back on the mortar, pushes it over backwards with her buttocks.

Ya njele (from salt; Chin., *dza mchere*): If a woman who, after the death of a child, has not been cleansed by medicine, adds salt to her husband's food, he eating it will sicken.

Tsempo (a Chinyanja word): If a man or a woman commits adultery and any member of the family falls ill, the natives say the illness is due to the unlawful act; the sinner is said "to have gone in front of the other"; *kangamula* (*kupandulisa*, Chin.), "he has gone in front of," from *ku-panda* and *ku-pandisa*, to go in front of, or *ku-sompha* (Chin.), to go dirty in front of. Hence the word *tsempo* which also is used loosely for *dza mchere*. If a child who according to custom has gone to stay with the grandmother, returns to the parents' house and the parents continue to have sexual intercourse, the child may sicken; it is said that the house is "hot" for the child and its disease may be called *tsempo*. Or if a child which has been weaned is again given the breast after the mother has resumed cohabitation with her husband, it may sicken with *tsempo*. And the husband is called *kangawula*.

A child which is suckled after menstruation is reestablished, is not affected by any untoward symptoms.

In the event of a woman dying in childbirth, if it so happens the husband has com- [157]
mitted adultery, he is held responsible for the death and her relatives claim very heavy
compensation.

Ku-sionasidwa, to be met with (*ku-kumanidwa*, Chin.): if the act of coitus causes the onset of menstruation and the husband cannot draw back in time to prevent himself being contaminated, he will sicken, and he is said "to have met with (it)" when referring to his illness. In this disease, the penis is said to withdraw into the bladder. Dust from the road

[illegible]

of the hen, [illegible], and the red part of the flower of the banana, doubtless on account of its shape, are used as medicine for this disease.

[illegible] or [illegible]: If a man dies and his relatives eat of the food-stuffs left by him, such as corn from his grain-store, before they have been cleansed by medicine, they will sicken with [illegible], the symptoms being anasarca and wasting. The word [illegible] is also used for sickness due to partaking of food cooked by an unfaithful wife.

Chipato is a word used by both Yao and *Anyanja* to denote a disease which a man contracts from adulterous intercourse. Scott[1] derives the word from *ku-pata*, to stick to; the woman is so influenced by medicine made by her husband that should any man have adulterous intercourse with her, the disease will "stick" to him, while it will not affect the woman herself nor her own husband. Both the disease and the medicine made to cause the disease are known as *Chipato*. Secondarily, the word has come to be used for any disease which may be gained by sexual intercourse and is sometimes used as a general term for venereal disease.

Chipato cha [illegible] ([illegible], a knife): A man who is going away from home obtains medicine and doctors his knife with it. As he leaves his house to go on his journey, he pretends just to remember his knife and calls for it. His wife brings it to him and it is put into its sheath; he then goes out and sticks it in the grass of the roof of the house. The medicine is made from the tail of a dog, an animal in which coitus is prolonged and the two animals cannot separate. Should the wife commit adultery, it is supposed that just as the knife was unsheathed and doctored with dog medicine, so the adulterous pair will remain fixed *in coitu* and be found out. This may be called *chipato cha [illegible]* ([illegible] = to set a trap).

The *Anyanja* make medicine with the same idea, *chipato cha [illegible]* ([illegible], to set a trap, Chin.); medicine is put round the house and any man crossing the medicine and committing adultery with the wife will be trapped. In all cases, the man will become ill.

Chipato cha [illegible], [illegible], blood ([illegible], Chin.): disease caused by intercourse with a menstruating woman. Blood is passed in the urine.

Chipato cha [illegible], [illegible], pus ([illegible], Chin.): practically means gonorrhoea.

Chipato cha [illegible], [illegible], cotton ([illegible], Chin.): the discharge from the urethra resembles a thread of cotton; it is supposed that this thread can be pulled out endlessly.

Chipato cha [illegible], [illegible], the white-ants ([illegible], Chin.): so called when a man passes whitish-yellow debris in the urine. It is supposed that when he has finished passing water, white ants rush up the penis and enter the bladder, thus causing the pain which characterises this affection. The origin of the idea lies in the fact that if one sprinkles water or urinates on the ground near white-ant burrows, the ants will come to the surface of the ground in numbers and make a rustling sound.

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[1] D. C. Scott, A cyclopaedic dictionary of the Mang'anja language, pp. [illegible].

Other hypothetical diseases which are caused by disobedience to customs are mentioned under various other headings. *Esoipo*: a disease generally characterised by ulceration of the legs but in some cases by pains in the back, or loosely used for a variety of symptoms, is said to be caused by the entry into the belly of a worm which lives in water-pools. This worm which I have had identified is a gordius worm and not known to be parasitic in man. *Lusoti*: When a man kills another in battle, he will sit upon the belly of his victim; otherwise he believes he will sicken with lusoti and his own belly will swell up like that of the corpse when putrefaction sets in. He is supposed also to hunger after more killing and blood. *Lilunga* is the name of a supposed disease which kills off one child after another in a family when they are about six months old. Congenital syphilis naturally suggests itself but I have never been able to verify this idea. *Lilunga lya kutesa*: a supposed disease which causes the death of the first child when the second is born, the second when the third is born and so on, whatever the intervals between the births. Each child is said to push (ku-tesa) the previous one out of this world. Under these circumstances the disease is ascribed to something wrong with the mother or father and they are examined by a medicine-woman or medicine-man, and any excrescence or an external pile found will be cut away. 164 192 752 683 [728] [729]

If a snake inflicts two bites, the case will prove fatal. If a crocodile emits a grunting sound when seizing its victim, though he escape he will certainly die. [825]

Treatment of disease. Of surgical treatment there is very little to be noted. Nothing in the way of operation is performed with the exception of circumcision (see [illegible]). 757 [758]

An abscess is allowed to burst, the smallest tumour is left untouched, but accessory digits which are not rare, attached only by a fine pedicle, are snipped off. [752]

The natives cannot extract teeth. They are incapable of rendering any assistance in cases of difficult labor. Dislocations are not recognized as such, but fractures are treated by the application of wooden sticks placed at intervals round the circumference of the limb parallel to it and held in position by twisted pieces of bark string (Pl. XXIII, fig. 8). The principle of the tourniquet appears to be unknown. 752

The only instruments used consist of a small knife for incisions, a cupping-horn, and a primitive form of funnel for administering enemata (Pl. XXIII, figs. 1, 2, 6). The knife has a triangular blade with a stem which is commonly twisted at one of the corners. The knife is used for wet-cupping, bleeding, and circumcision (Pl. XXIII, fig. 3). The cupping-horn is a small horn of a calf. The apex is pierced and after application to the part, suction is made with the mouth and then the hole sealed by working a piece of beeswax over it with the tongue. Six small incisions are made in the skin for the withdrawal of the blood. The cupping-horn is called [illegible] ([illegible], Chin.). Cupping is used for headache and for pain in the chest and back. The enema funnel, [illegible] ([illegible], Chin.) is made from the neck of a gourd to which is attached a hollow stem for introduction into the anus. Half a pint of an infusion of [illegible] is injected for constipation associated with pain. 417 753 757

757 Simple incision is practised for relief of pain or again "medicine" may be introduced into the wound. Such medicine usually consists of charcoal prepared from various vegetable substances. There is no evidence that any active medicinal principles are involved and the most that is attained is probably a certain amount of counter-irritation. For pain, a string is tied tightly round the part; thus for headache one sees a string tied round the head and doubtless some relief is felt when pressure is made on the temples. A man with an abscess of the hand or foot will tie a string round the arm or leg, but I have never seen it so applied as to produce any effect comparable to that of Bier's hyperaemic treatment. By analogy a string may be worn round the chest for pleuritic pain and by limiting movement may be effective. In many cases a charm is attached to the string as an adjuvant.

The use of drugs as such is widespread but I have very little evidence of their efficacy. The methods of administration are various. The vapor bath is often used. Over a pot of water in which have been dropped herbs and stones heated in a fire, the patient squats enveloped in a blanket and is thereby subjected to the action of the medicated steam. This method is also adopted for [illegible]. A case which came recently to my notice was the wife of a native hospital dresser who, suffering pain in the abdomen, avoided my ministrations and consulted a female medicine-maker. She was given a vapor bath as above described and after a few moments, the medicine-woman slapped her on the back and told her to rise. The old woman plunged her hands into the pot and brought forth some human hair tied in a piece of calico and a human metacarpal bone. "These are what troubled you," she said — fee £1! This is called *[illegible]*, to take evil things out for.

Various powdered barks and leaves are applied to ulcers and appear to have an astringent effect in some cases but the majority seem to go from bad to worse. No other external applications have been observed except one for scabies. Incision of the skin and insertion of "medicine" have been mentioned above.

Large numbers of vegetable products are administered by mouth, always in the form of an infusion or suspension. It is probable that a number of these are really beneficial but I am not able to speak in detail of their effects. Many astringents are undoubtedly used for diarrhoea. Herbs containing oil are used for gonorrhoea.

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758 Apart from magic medicine dealt with elsewhere and commonly employed for purposes outside disease, charms are used for the prevention and treatment of ordinary diseases and injuries. There are only a few varieties of charms. A vegetable substance, root or stem, may be worn on a string round the part of the body concerned. Thus one sees a couple of little pieces of stick, *[illegible]*, on a string tied round the head, round the arm or round the chest for headache, a whitlow or diarrhoea as the case may be. The medicine may be in the form of a preparation, generally charred vegetable substances, and is made into a little packet in leaves and cloth worn most commonly round the neck; it is called *[illegible]*. Such a charm is supposed to be effective against all ills.

Again, charm medicine may be contained in various articles which are also generally 751
worn round the neck. The teeth and claws of the beasts of prey are so employed, generally 767
arranged in pairs bound together so as to form a crescent and suspended from a string. 825
The teeth of crocodiles, lions, leopards, and the claws of the same beasts and of some large birds of prey are thus employed. The teeth etc., are in themselves charms against injury, probably against what one might call homologous injury. The idea of stuffing them with medicine is probably a secondary consideration, a process of fortification of the charm so that its use comes to have a more powerful influence. It is interesting to see of late years that the native, recognizing the decorative value of these crescent-shaped amulets, has begun to copy them in lead and ivory. A series of these of graduated size is worn as a necklace by women.

When a medicine-man is consulted, part payment is made in advance, "payment to 756
go and dig medicine (roots)." The rest of the payment is made when the cure is effected. Should a patient not be satisfied with his treatment and wish to consult some other medicine-man, he pays to the first a quarter of the fee he would have paid if his cure had been effected; this is called "paying him to get his medicine away." Unless this is done, should he recover later, he will be liable to claims for full fees from all of the medicine-men he has consulted; each will say his own medicine has gone on acting and has effected the cure. A medicine-man may take a case he is treating into his own house.

In prescribing medicine, very particular instructions are given with an embargo on certain things which may or may not have some use and significance. A medicine-man in 1901 at Makanya's, who inoculated every one in the [illegible] with bullet proof medicine, said that no one must step across a musi (pestle for pounding grain), and no one must eat the leaves of the sweet potato.

A medicine-man always partakes of part of the decoction he is giving to a patient to show that it is harmless; I think these preparations are mostly inactive. I should hate to sample all the castor oil I have prescribed, though many natives have had suspicions about me when I have not done so.

Poisons. Though there are a large number of species in this country, both vegetable 737
and animal, from which poison might be extracted, those that have gained any reputation 778
among natives and have come under my observation are but few in number. *Mwavi* (*M'wabvi* Chin.) "the ordeal poison," is the bark of *Erythrophloeum guineense*. The natives distinguish two varieties of mwavi, the two trees differing slightly in leaf, flower and bark; mwavi
is the *Erythrophloeum guineense*, the second variety known as [illegible] is doubtless [691]
an allied species. *Mwavi* is the poison employed in the poison ordeal.[1] It is administered in a poisonous dose as a decoction of the bark, recovery or otherwise depending on whether or not the poison is voided by vomiting. Natives give as the symptoms headache, giddiness, disturbance of vision, vomiting and purging, with slowing of heart beat. *Mpa-*

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[1] Vide infra, p. [illegible].

137 278 [illegible] is a more deadly poison and is not used in the poison ordeal but is administered with intent to murder; it is usually given mixed with beer or in porridge. Death is said to be caused in a few hours. *Lipentele*: the Yao name of beetles belonging to the genus *Mylabris*, found in large numbers in June and July in the native gardens where they do much damage to the bean crops. The name is, I think, more especially applied to a species with yellow bands, those with red markings being said to be harmless. These beetles are prepared for poisoning food by drying and then grinding into a powder. In this form, they are administered with intent to murder or they may be taken for suicidal purposes, five or six beetles being used. These beetles contain cantharidin in a greater proportion than cantharis itself. The symptoms described by the natives as occurring after exhibition are constipation followed by high fever, and death eight hours later. This same beetle is known to other tribes and is the [illegible] of the *Anyanja*. 136 278

The bile of the crocodile, ngwena (ndulu, Chin.); ngwena and ndulu also are used, meaning the gall-bladder. Crocodile gall has the reputation of being a powerful poison over nearly the length and breadth of Africa. It is known, I think, to all the tribes in Nyasaland. In this district, they qualify their beliefs by saying that the bile of crocodiles from Lakes Chilwa and Chiuta which do not eat men is not poisonous. The poison is also said not to be used on the Lower Shiré River where, and where only, crocodiles are eaten as food by the natives. Among the Yao, the gall-bladder is removed with the contained gall, dried, and then ground in a little mortar or on a stone. The dose of the powder is said to be as much as would cover a sixpence. Symptoms are said to be great pain in the stomach, swelling and discoloration of the tongue, and loss of speech. Public destruction of the gall-bladder of any crocodile which has been killed is said to be the custom on the West Coast of Africa, and the same is true of some tribes in Nyasaland as at Kotakota, but so far as I am aware, this is not done among the Yao. [751]

The gall of other animals is similarly used, but among the Yao I am not quite certain of the species. *Lipiri*, the puff-adder, certainly is utilized, and I think other snakes, such as *[illegible]*, a grey, ash coloured snake, *[illegible]*, a water-snake six feet long, and *[illegible]*, the crowing-snake. Certain lizards are also employed, such as *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*, both *[illegible]* and the running frog, *[illegible]*. Scorpions too have found a place among poisonous preparations, so it is said, and likewise, the bile of some mammals. Bamboo fibre, animal hair, the bones of fish, and ground glass, I have also heard mentioned as being administered with the desire to produce a fatal outcome.

Pupal cases made of twigs and the contained pupa (species of the family of *Psychidae*) called [illegible] or [illegible] (from [illegible], "to eat" and [illegible], "fire-wood") are said when eaten by cattle to cause death. I cannot vouch for the truth of this nor can I say whether they are ever given to man.

137 278 A wild yam, [illegible] ([illegible], Chin.) is poisonous if not well boiled and the water thrown away, but is not used as a poison so far as I know. The same is true of [illegible], a kind of cassava.

Strophanthus is specially reserved for poisoning arrows and it is doubtful if it is ever given by mouth; *Kombe* is the name used in this country, but there are two species of strophanthus in Nyasaland, *Strophanthus kombe* and *Strophanthus* [illegible]. The seeds and bark are used and, less commonly, the root. They are mixed with the roots of a shrub called *[illegible]*, pounded together and boiled, and the liquid used to smear the arrows. The use of poisoned arrows is a Wanyanja custom adopted to some extent by the Yao. 137 278 [77]

A number of poisons are also employed in catching fish, *[illegible]* and *Mtutu* being the most common, also *[illegible]* (*Mtutu*, Chin.), and *[illegible]*. [324]

Witchcraft. In my article on the Anyanja[1] reference is made to witchcraft and ufiti. Besides the Nyanja *ufiti* or the Yao *msawi*, all tribes as far as I know in Nyasaland have firmly fixed among their beliefs, the conception of the supernatural human-flesh eater. It is a little difficult to define the term *ufiti* or *msawi*, as it has come to have the somewhat generalized sense of one who practises witchcraft, but the original meaning is defined by Scott,[2] a person who has acquired the knowledge of occult medicine by which he can kill his fellow man; "what makes the power so dreaded is not that the *ufiti* exercises this power by reason of spite but (as is supposed), to eat the body of his victim." It is at once interesting to note that the word *ufiti* does not belong, according to Scott, to the personal class of nouns but to the great class, which seems to imply that they believe a *ufiti* to be something outside the idea of a person. Among the Anyanja in Zomba district, however, the word belongs to the first class of nouns (the personal class) as also does *msawi* in Chiyao. 754

The natives believe that any man in a village may be a *ufiti* or it might be more correct to say, is capable of changing into a *ufiti*. *Ufiti* is the state of being a *ufiti*; in Chiyao, *usawi*.

As I have pointed out under Disease, practically all illness and death are thought to be due to the machinations of some person or persons. The inciting motive which may cause a man to compass the death of another may be spite, revenge, etc., or the desire of *msawi*. Until recent years, when the Government legislated to put down witchcraft, the charges of *msawi* were everyday occurrences. Whether or not the prevalence of the idea of cannibalism has any substance in correspondingly frequent practice has never been and now probably never will be surely proved. Duff Macdonald believes it to be so.[3] It is true that native graves have been and are still rifled and that the graves of some Europeans have been so opened in the past, as I have learned from eyewitnesses. It seems probable that the graves were tampered with by natives with the object of removing the human remains, possibly to be eaten or to obtain portions of the body to act as charms. Mr. L. T. Moggridge,

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[1] "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. [illegible]

[2] Op. cit., p. [illegible]

[3] Africana, op. cit., vol. I, p. [illegible]

*757 Resident Magistrate at [illegible], told me of a case where the grave of a well-known European hunter was opened and his trigger finger removed, the reason being obvious. The [642] same thing is said to have occurred in regard to the heart of a brave man. In the former case the finger was probably worn as a charm; in the latter, the heart partly eaten and partly made into medicine. I have found human fingers and skulls among the outfits of witch-doctors. Such practices seem akin to those of cannibalistic societies found in other parts of Africa.

757 The natives insist that wizards are banded together in some sort of society. There are 266 numerous discrepancies in the evidence brought forward about wizards, but such would [578] necessarily arise and they do not, therefore, disprove the general belief in the actuality of wizards. Be that as it may, it seems probable that though there may be little or no cannibalism at the present day, the beliefs about wizards have arisen in consequence of common 266 cannibalistic practices in the past. There are individual cases of cannibalism well known and one has only to call to mind that of [illegible] of [illegible]'s village. This man seems to have openly killed and ate a number of people. On one occasion after a fight, he was seen looking over the dead bodies of the slain foe and in answer to an enquiries, he denied that he wanted any spoils but said he was just marking the bodies, "that would be his share." Later on, his own son, who tells the story, brought an Angoni man into the village who wished to settle under [illegible]. It was evening, so he was introduced into his father's ([illegible]'s) house where [illegible] gave him food and later a mat on which to sleep, the son meanwhile having gone to a beer drinking. In the morning, he returned to take his Angoni friend to the chief, but his father said he had gone away. Entering the hut, however, the son came upon the Angoni's snuff box, and said to his father, "No Angoni would go away and leave his snuff box." But the father said, "Well, he has gone." The lad being suspicious again went into the hut and found the place where the Angoni had been sleeping drenched with blood. Going out again, he noticed blood dripping through the bottom of [illegible]'s grain-store and looking inside, he found the body.

This man [illegible] was a great friend of the reigning [illegible]'s headwife, [illegible]; after the death of [illegible] and after his wives had passed to the present [illegible], circumstances arose in the village which cast suspicion on [illegible] and the woman. One of two brothers was ill and, it appeared afterwards, that the woman had said to [illegible], "Won't you finish him off?" It is supposed that [illegible] thought she meant the brother who was not sick; for it so happened that both died the same night. It was supposed they were killed in order that [illegible] and the woman, his friend, might eat them. [illegible] had the woman turned out of the village. She now lives near [illegible] and has come under my care. The man, who was also turned out, took up his abode near a highway where he is reported to have killed several Angoni porters whom he said he preferred, because "being travellers far away from their homes, no one would bother about them."

The father of one of my servants helped to dig out the remains of a body from its grave on one occasion and shortly afterwards, it is supposed that his own sons who had said they would not allow it to go on any longer, employed some one to kill him, as he was found, one day, with his head smashed in. There are, I believe, a number of similar cases known. 266

A person is supposed to gain the powers of usawi by procuring medicine from some one willing to sell his secrets at a price, and by performing certain rites usually connected with the method of [illegible]. It is said that "such and such a one takes his bath on the top of an ant hill" or "on the roof of his house by moonlight." The usual initiation into usawi is a long business, the individual being successively initiated into all the various practices of [illegible], the supernatural. Medicines are made from a still-born child, from various plants, from the hyaena, etc., and used for preparing the individual in the new science. He is [illegible] to the hyaena, the fox, etc. It is also asserted that a man may acquire supernatural powers by having sexual intercourse with a near relative, a sister or mother. I have had pointed out to me an old man who is said to have wished thus to acquire power but the woman refused and he has been a laughing-stock ever since. 754 576 [illegible]

On one occasion, a man related to me the pathetic life story of his attempt to find his favorite sister who, like himself, had been taken away to the coast as a slave. In desperation he has adopted the above procedure to try to gain supernatural powers to help him but without result. It would therefore seem to be a method not particularly associated with usawi.

The mswawi is supposed to bring about the death of his victim not by administering poison or other such direct means, but by the more subtle mode of making medicine "against" him. When the victim has succumbed and is in due course buried, the mswawi arrives at the grave to secure that for which he has been working. To the mswawi is attributed the power of making himself invisible, and of taking the form of an animal; owing to the carrion-eating habits of the hyaena, this animal form is most commonly taken. Other animal forms which are associated with the usawi are the leopard, the fox, and the owl, all night-going animals. The Yao say, "The cry of the fox ([illegible]) is heard at night for [illegible] in connection with usawi doings." 754 [illegible]

Arrived at the grave after sunset, the mswawi blows his horn, the horn of a small antelope, to call his [illegible]; a fire with a blue flame is made by the grave and around it they dance, or the grave may be illuminated by blue flame without a visible fire. The mswawi calls upon the deceased to rise from the grave, addressing him by the name he bore before he was initiated, i.e. his child-name. Obeying the summons, the dead man rises to the surface of the ground, though how he comes out is not quite clear — "the hole may be ever so small." The risen dead is then killed again by magic medicine and his body divided to be eaten by the congregation of asawi. It is said that the skull is made into a gourd, the eyes are used as beads, and the ribs turned into a girdle. [illegible]

754 A msawi may be met with under different circumstances. An educated native told me of his experience one night when riding a bicycle back to a township where he was employed. Coming along a smooth-lined path with his lamp alight, he became aware of the presence of something in the bush in front and at the side of him. Suddenly his lamp was smashed and he was left in darkness, while something pushed him over so hard that he fell off his cycle. Picking himself up, he started to wheel his cycle on, when there appeared on the path in front, figures who, rubbing their hands together to produce a phosphorescent glow, held them up in front of the boy's face. He was, however, not molested further, and coming to a group of huts he knew, he went in and made inquiries as to the cause of his experience and was promptly told that there was a man living in a hut near the spot on the path where they had occurred who was supposed to be msawi. Such a story is given for what it is worth. The boy was about twenty-two years old, a highly educated native with an intelligent appreciation of the worth of superstition.

Some msawi demonstrations can have no object but to strike terror and keep up the prestige of the msawi class. Mr. Muggridge writes me, "A boy of mine was certainly attacked and squeezed about the neck by a man whom he described as naked, huge, and slightly luminous, on the road at the back of my house in [illegible]. The boy was strolling up and down in the dusk and had nothing about him to provoke robbery; he was almost choked before he managed to let out a yell which determined his assailant to let him go. He was not a local boy and no theory of personal spite was supportable. I thought and still think that the motive was to show that even the Resident's servant twenty yards from the Resident's house was not safe from msawi." It seems possible that some natives with intent to rob had pretended to be msawi but recognizing that their victim was likely to cause trouble, they went no further.

[824] It is said that the phosphorescence is produced by rubbing in the hands two vegetable substances from local trees and that this is the method the msawi adopt to announce their presence.

754 **Poison Ordeal.** As I have said above, when anyone sickens or dies, the illness or death is likely to be considered the work of some one who is msawi, and action will be taken by the 695 relatives to find him out. The proceedings in such a case where witchcraft is suspected will now be briefly sketched; though I give an account of a case from beginning to end as if it occurred at the present time, it must be understood that the giving of mwavi, the ordeal poison, is now much less common than formerly. A man becomes ill in some village and does not get better, so the master of lots is consulted. The sick man's relatives or friends go to the [787] lot-master and approach the subject indirectly by asking him his advice about a number of imaginary cases; they may say, "Things have been stolen from our house." The lots are cast and the master replies, "No, you have not come to see me about that." This may go on for hours before the facts of the case proper are mentioned to him. Finally, they tell him that one of their relatives is ill in the village, the lots are consulted and advice is given

as to procuring medicine for him from a medicine-man. If the master of lots is suspicious that some one has caused the illness, he will at the same time add, "Let so and so pray," mentioning the name of the man whom he suspects. Following the advice given, the medicine-man is consulted. He promises to get medicine for the sick man and goes into the forest to search for it. Having returned, he prepares his decoctions and having first partaken of a little himself, he gives it to his patient with further instructions. The friends of the sick man having returned to the village, indirectly ask the man on whom suspicion has been cast to pray for the sick man saying, "He is covered by some spirit." The man prays, sometimes using *ufupa* and beginning *chonde! chonde!* "please! please!" and goes on to ask *Mlungu* to take away the spirit which has covered the sick man, adding that he himself is innocent of any ill doing against the man and that any grudge he may have had against him is now forgotten. 754 685 [782]

If the sick man recovers, well and good, but should he die, there is more to be done. The morning following the burial, the relatives go to the chief and in answer to his inquiry of what they are going to do, they say they must again consult the master-of-lots. They will choose some one who lives a long way off and is not cognisant of the death of their relative: those who go to him have not been shaved after the funeral. Much the same business is gone through as on the first occasion but, in the end, the master-of-lots is told that they suspect some one unknown to have brought about the death of their relative. The names of all the possible persons are given; the lots cast in each case and, eventually, one is picked out as the guilty man; the master-of-lots saying, "If I am not telling the truth, you can test my words by giving *mwavi* (ordeal poison) to a fowl; if it does not die, come back and break up all my properties." 754 685 791

He may have gained information from his lots that the suspect is a man of power gained by some special rite, e.g. the midnight bath on the ant hill, in which case he will insist that the fowl poison-ordeal must take place on an ant hill or he will give other specific instructions. On the way back, the relatives will buy two fowls; *mwavi* will be prepared by a boy who has not passed through his initiation ceremonies, and two of the party will be chosen as pleaders, one for the deceased, the other for the accused. One fowl is then selected to represent the accused and the poison administered according to the conditions laid down by the lot-thrower, while the two pleaders give injunctions to it, one saying, "You are guilty; you shall die"; the other, "You are innocent and you shall show your innocence by vomiting the poison and recovering." If the fowl dies, a third man cuts off its head, saying, "I am the butcher of the dead." *Mwavi* is then administered to the second fowl to ascertain whether any other persons are involved. The head of the first fowl is singed, stuck on a stick and carried back with the party towards their village. A little way outside, they halt in the bush, and send word to the headman that they are returning. He then comes out privately to see them, asking what has happened, and is told all the events in sequence.

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One of the group is chosen to go in the morning and summon some one to appear on behalf of the accused man. He and the headman join the party in the bush where the whole of the case from the beginning of the deceased's illness, is again related, ending with the final test and dramatic statement of the name of the accused, whereupon the fowl's head on its stick is planted in the ground opposite to the man who has appeared for him as he squats listening to the story. The man who has been called to defend the accused, though the latter may have no particular claim on his kindness, is in honor bound to do his best. As the fowl's head is planted opposite him, he will shift quickly to one side, protesting the innocence of the accused. All then adjourn to the village to put the case before the chief. One of the men acts as prosecutor, again going through the whole case, calling witnesses and others to aid him in speaking. The accused is then defended by the man chosen for the purpose, assisted by others whom he asks to help him. They may speak for a week or more. The chief decides the case, and the result will be communicated to the defendant by his pleader.

If he is found guilty of causing the death of the deceased, he must pay the fine inflicted as if he has been accused actually of sassi; he may have to undergo, or may offer to undergo, the sassi ordeal poison himself or the test may be made with a dog tied to the leg of the accused man. If the ordeal is satisfactory to the defendant, the man claims compensation for wrongful accusation. If he dies with sassi, his relatives have to pay compensation for the crime he is thereby shown to have committed.

[illegible]

If either party is dissatisfied with the chief's decision, recourse may be had to a hearing before another chief, the first being very glad to be rid of the case. The second gives judgment quickly. If the case goes on to a poison ordeal, a day is fixed and the accused is taken out to some spot two or three miles from the village where a hut is built called [illegible] (place of torture). Accompanied by the two pleaders, he remains here for several days. People from the village come out and attempts are made to make him confess any accomplices; beans are fried over a fire and when very hot are put into the accused's hands and his fists closed over them, or they are put in a cloth which is fastened round the forehead, or bamboo sticks are arranged one on either side of the head and tightened by a string.

The third day, natural undyed bark-cloth is obtained and men go out to fetch the sassi poison, two men from each party, the prosecutors and the defendants. One man sent by the prosecutor has actually to take the bark from the tree, while the others look on to see fair play. The bark can only be taken from the east or west side of a tree; it may not be cut with a knife or axe or be pulled off, but must be cut with a stone and allowed to fall; only a piece which falls with the inner surface lying upwards is taken. Any of the party may carry it but they must on no account leave one another. Having returned, they hide the sassi.

On the appointed day, the big drum is sounded and a crier goes round saying that every one who wants to see so and so drink sassi must go to the appointed place. Every large village had its regular place of torture and mwavi drinking, two or three miles from the village. Those used by Malemia, the old Zomba chief, may still be seen. 754

A clear way is made two feet broad and fourteen feet long in the bush and here the accused takes up his position attended on either side by the two pleaders, the defending pleader on the right, the prosecuting on the left. Facing east or west or following the directions originally given by the medicine-man, that is, taking up the position in which the accused is supposed to take a midnight bath, or practise some rite under a tree or an ant hill, etc., he is given a decoction of mwavi to drink from a gourd. This decoction is made on the spot, the bark being pounded up on a stone by one of the prosecutors. The accused must have had no food that day. He then starts to walk up and down the short cleared path with the two men, one on either side of him, the one saying, "Now you have drunk mwavi, you shall die as you deserve; you did it [illegible]," the other denying the accusation, saying, "He shall vomit the poison." He is watched by the assembled crowd who note the various symptoms of which vomiting is the first and said to be the most characteristic. After this has gone on for some time, they watch for what is called the [illegible] which is said to be "a ball of bile formed in the mouth and expelled by vomiting so that it bursts on reaching the ground but not before", followed often by a second ball, twenty minutes later. Should this be expelled, recovery may be expected, foreshadowed by clearing of the vision. If he recovers, he is hailed a wonderful man and is hailed on all sides. The women trill with their tongues and shout, and he is carried back in triumph; the defending pleader will swagger about and demand anything he wants for his client. 696

A fatal termination is characterized by little and non-forcible vomiting. Purging is common but said to be painless. Vision is affected and as time goes on, the spectators ask what he can see, "Do you see that over there?" indicating a hill. If he makes mistakes, then they say, "Ah, he is going to die!"

The poison may not take full effect for three or four hours. The end is ushered in by a last stage when the legs become weak; he staggers, then unable to stand any longer, falls to the ground dead, assisted by the onlookers who rush in and hurl stones upon the body, crushing it. The relatives take the mangled corpse and lay it on logs covered with grass in the bush. No other covering is permitted. It may be placed in a tree by people acting as [illegible]. Burial is forbidden. [762]

In some cases accused used to be burned, not being given the chance of the poison trial. This took place at a recognized spot like others. The last man to be burned by Malemia was [illegible] in 1895. Burning was also a punishment in some bad cases of murder. Such was the fate of [illegible]. The man was put in a [illegible], a pile of logs was built round him and then set on fire. [683]

Witch-finder. In addition to actual poison, another method of discovering a wizard is by "smelling out." If a number of people have died in a certain village, the inhabitants may begin to think that there is a wizard among them, and procure the services of a [illegible]. 754 685 791

759 [illegible] is a Chinyanja word from [illegible], "to hide," referring to his custom of hiding
645 in the village; the practice is originally Ngoni, then adopted by the [illegible]. [illegible]
741 is often a woman and may be young.[1] She seems to stay in the village unknown to the people, lives in a small house in the gardens and is said to go about at night when she is able to summon absent persons from their houses. The fee for her services is paid beforehand. Later, the villagers are assembled and going round the company holding out flour in her hand, she calls upon [illegible] as the guilty man saying, "This is his 'night-name.'" The villagers all answer, "There is no one of that name in the village." She then goes round again and throwing the flour over the accused, utters his ordinary name and runs off into the bush, not to appear again. The accused may then offer to take muavi (ordeal poison) to prove his innocence or if it is a case of illness only and not death, he may be treated by a medicine man, the process being called [illegible], "to take evil things out of."

A [illegible] man is sometimes said to renounce his old practices and may then be received into the company of [illegible]. A famous [illegible] near [illegible] affirms that he used to be [illegible]. The mode of action of [illegible] varies greatly with different men; for some the ceremony is quite a minor matter; in other cases, it is an important affair.

Witch-destroyers. Where death is suspected to have resulted from [illegible], steps may be taken immediately to catch and kill the [illegible]. For this purpose, the help of the [illegible] [illegible] is sought. [illegible] means "to break off the end of a stick"; it appears to be both a Chinyanja and a Chiyao word. The word refers to the practice of the professional witch-killer who is supposed to run a stick through the anus up the bowel of his victim and then break it off, leaving part inside. The [illegible] having been informed of the approaching funeral hides in the bush near the graveyard and watches the ceremony. After everyone has gone, he is free to put in operation that for which he has been called. The following modus operandi is related of a celebrated [illegible] [illegible] called [illegible] of [illegible]. The water in which the corpse had been first washed was obtained and put in an earthenware dish. He also provided himself with a gourd containing medicines and some [illegible], and another gourd filled with poison made from crocodile gall to render the [illegible] [illegible]. He also had a small antelope's horn containing medicine which when smeared on the head rendered him invisible, together with the [illegible] of a species of [illegible] called [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] at a [illegible], and a whistle made from the horn of a small antelope, the [illegible].

So provided, he proceeded to the grave, around which he drew a ring with medicine contained in still another horn. Within this circle all was safe. This was followed by a [illegible] [illegible] around the grave with a stone from the gourd placed at each side, north, south, east and west. The plate of water was placed on top of the grave. The [illegible] [illegible] then anointed himself with the medicine which made him invisible to the [illegible] and sitting within the circle, he blew his whistle which was inaudible to the wanted man who was thus induced to come out of his house. When he had reached the grave, the water was sprinkled over him by the *jnamkumbi* with the coffee stalk from the dish on the grave, or he was struck with the goat's tail; in either case, he fell to the ground senseless. He was then ready to be dealt with. The *uchisito* sticks, small bamboos filled with crocodile poison, were pushed up the anus and broken off to liberate the poison. Sticks might also be inserted behind the ear or in various other spots. The wanted man was then beaten to wake him up; he ran off to his own village and there, a little later, he sickened and died, telling no one the cause. After death, the uncle when preparing the corpse of the hitherto unsuspected wizard, might find the end of the stick projecting from the anus or see the punctures elsewhere with the medicine adhering to them, and the man was revealed in his true colors. 754 695 791

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[1] [illegible], op. cit., p. [illegible]

At Mkwinda's village, there was a man called Lisuya who professed to be able to extract the poison injected by the *jnamkumbi* by causing his patients to undergo a vapor bath and to drink certain decoctions. This man would never reveal the name of anyone who came to him for treatment but would beg that "[illegible] was [illegible]." The symptoms of the mortal malady caused by the *uchisito* are said to be intestinal obstruction with tremendous distension of the abdomen (peritonitis). [107]

Of this same village, a story is told which, if not true, at all events illustrates the sort of thing that is believed. As has been mentioned above, whenever the *jnamkumbi* blows his little horn, any wanted will hear it and thinking it is one of their band calling, will go to meet him. A woman of this village told how she and her husband were sitting over the fire while the evening meal was cooking, when he suddenly jumped up and said he must go outside for a bit. She remonstrated and asked him to wait for his food, but he hurried off. Later he returned, complaining of feeling very ill; his belly swelled up and he died soon after. It was said that this man was very friendly with a woman named *Achiki* and that when he went out into the bush, he was heard calling in a low voice, "Is that you, *Achiki*?" When his body was examined, two punctures were found on the left side of the chest. It was supposed that it was *Achiki* he expected to meet and with her enjoy a cannibalistic repast, whereas it was a *jnamkumbi* who had called and killed him.

This brief outline of a case of sickness, suspicion of witchcraft, death, and the association with the medicine-man, the witch-finder, ordeal poison, death, and the outing of the cannibal witch, has been given as a more or less imaginative story in order that it may be more easily understood. Some further details concerning the lot-caster, witchcraft, etc., must be added.

Lot-casting. Medicine-men who cast lots were at one time fairly plentiful and were consulted on many matters, often of small importance from a European point of view. Chief of all were questions of witchcraft. The *modus operandi* varied in different cases. In cases and other important matters, the medicine-man always used the *chisango* (divining in- 787

787 divinement). These were of various types but the most usual was made of a gourd, *[illegible]*, called *[illegible]*,¹ containing a number of small articles, each of which had some special name and if it appeared in the casting, a special significance. Among these articles are:

(a) *[illegible]*: small pieces of broken white earthen-ware. These have the significance of whiteness, cleanness, innocence, or answers in the negative to questions as to any particular person having done some action.

(b) *[illegible]*: the body of one of those beetles which feign death. This indicates death in answer to the question asked. *[illegible]* is the name of the beetle.

(c) *[illegible]*: a small piece of a sleeping-mat, signifying illness.

(d) *[illegible]*: a small piece of stick or grass.

(e) *[illegible]* the plural; little pieces of stick, said to indicate that the people have previously consulted some other diviner, whose findings are called for by the man who is then casting lots.

(f) *[illegible]*: the horn. For convenience the small horn of a goat is used. It indicates witchcraft, referring to the fact that witches like medicine men are supposed to keep their medicines in horns.

(g) *[illegible]*: the coiled tendril of a vine, indicating a dispute, etc.

The lots are cast, and according to the disposition of the various articles, an interpretation is given in answer to the question put to the instrument.

[illegible] (plur. *[illegible]*) is the word used in referring to instruments used for divination in minor cases and several of these are usually included in a diviner's kit. They may be called *[illegible]*.

1. A small heap of flour or ashes is raised and any article, such as a knife or a piece of stick is flipped towards it; interpretation is based on the direction taken by the article flipped.

2. A small tortoise shell filled with medicine propelled by a feather stuck in one end is similarly used, and is called *[illegible]*.²

3. A horn and feather may be used in the same way.

4. The stuffed skin of a weasel, *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*, Chin.) is also used, in the same way as *[illegible]*, the squirrel.³

On February [illegible], 19[illegible] at Zomba I witnessed [illegible] of [illegible] village, a [illegible] man, use a small outfit for divining, consisting of: (1) A small solid horn in a gourd with pieces of stick (Pl. XVI, figs. 2, 3); (2) a piece of bamboo matting with a horn fixed on each end of the strip called *[illegible]* (Pl. XVI, fig. 5); (3) medicine in a gourd (Pl. XVI, fig. 1); (4) a rattle (Pl. XVI, fig. 4). He commenced by taking these things out of his bag and dusting them by rubbing in his hands. The gourd cap was cleaned out with his finger and spit into. The horn was spit upon, rubbed in the hands, and anointed with

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[1] Stannus, "Notes on some natives of British Central Africa," Pl. XXVII, fig. [illegible].

[2] Ibid., Pl. XXVI, fig. [illegible].

[3] Ibid., p. [illegible] and Pl. XXVI, fig. [illegible].

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medicine from the gourd by means of a stick; then placed at the forehead, point forwards, held for a second at each armpit, and finally rubbed over in the hands again. The cap was similarly anointed, especially the edge, and rubbed in the hands, as were the horns on the *cha ugawa*. All this was done with great precision and evidently in definite order, each article being laid on the ground in turn, and the string of matting rolled up. Four pieces of reed of a size that would lie over the mouth of the gourd cap overlapping the edges about an inch were then selected from among others and set ready on the ground. The rattle was treated with medicine from the same gourd. The horn was placed in the gourd by the operator, point upwards and lying towards himself, as he held the gourd by its body in the palm of his left hand, the handle towards him. Shaking the rattle in the right hand, he constantly muttered to the *chisango* "to tell him truly," "to answer his questions," and so on. By slight movements of his left arm which were well disguised but quite easily perceptible to the watcher, he could make the horn assume the erect position in the gourd and then fall backwards or forwards or to either side. The first position indicates "all is well," "nothing need be done"; the second means "there is trouble," "some one is talking at the village," "there is a case to be settled." These answer questions put to it by the owner who is being consulted about some case of illness, etc.

Another method of divining is with the horn in position as before mentioned and the four pieces of stick laid across the mouth of the gourd touching one another, the ends projecting at the sides. The operator is able to make the horn appear to knock off all the sticks without moving the gourd, or he can make any number of the sticks tumble into the gourd, and repeat the performance. If they fall off, it means a good day to go on a journey; if they fall in, the journey should be postponed.

The *chisango cha ugawa* is held similarly in the left hand by the middle so that two wings are formed, each with the weight of a horn at the end. The master of lots is able by almost imperceptible movements to make the two wings open and fall away from each other or swing together, and together partly roll up. When they fall apart wide open, it is an indication that all will be well; when they close, death may be expected. The gourd and horn and this *chisango cha ugawa* form a pair which are called female and male.

[illegible] cha [illegible]: *[illegible]* is a word relating to omens in regard to journeys. Thom [illegible] told me that he remembers as a boy, when his father was going on a journey, he would take some pieces of root, moisten them in his mouth, and stick them on the wall of the hut. These pieces of root were daily watched by Thom's mother, as [illegible] they gradually took up a position lower and lower on the wall until they reached the ground. Then she knew that her husband had safely reached his destination.

Omens may be told in yet another way, *chisango cha kuyankula* (*ku-yankula*, to speak). *[illegible]* is put in an empty house and the medicine man and his clients sit outside. The medicine man is asked some question which he puts to the [illegible] which then answers him as usual. I have never seen this done but my native informants tell me the voice that

[illegible] 787

787 918 spade is invariably used in divination and Chinyanja is the language always used. It is doubtless a case of what we should call ventriloquism. The custom is evidently of Mang'anja origin but in great favor with the Yao.

787 695 Divination also plays an important part in tracing thieves or stolen property or in picking out from a number of people anyone guilty of some crime. Several modes of procedure may be adopted. The chisango called [illegible] may be used as the chisango cha chipeta (chipeta, a kind of basket). Medicine in the form of certain roots is placed on the ground and covered by the inverted basket on which is placed the [illegible]. Each person in turn is requested to lift the basket and the guilty one is at once revealed by his inability to budge the basket off the ground. This method may even be used to reveal a man guilty of incest.

787 Other methods of divination include a kind of trial by ordeal somewhat similar to a boiling water ordeal. *[illegible]* (from *ku-[illegible]*, to turn round, referring to the perambulations made in search of what is lost, or [illegible], the Chinyanja word from *ku-[illegible]*, to follow on the footsteps of) is the name of the witch-doctor who searches for stolen property or traces the thief. The same man may be called [illegible] in Chinyanja (from *ku-[illegible]*, to reveal) when he uses his instrument to detect in a crowd the person guilty of some crime. The [illegible] uses the horn of a kudu stuffed with appropriate medicine, the actual mise en scène and methods adopted varying somewhat with different practitioners. The practice I believe to be a Mang'anja one and I think most of the operators were Anyanja men and not Yao, though the Yao, as with other customs, adopted the custom fully. In my district, the [illegible] was usually armed with a rattle; when the horn indicated the guilty individual, he intimated the fact to the assembled crowd by throwing flour over him.

When a search is to be made for stolen property, the horn is put into the hands of four men, alternate men pressing down and pulling up on the long horn, while the medicine man stands by, operating his rattle and exhorting the horn to do its work of revelation. I know a man who has on several occasions assisted in holding the horn; he said it simply seemed to drag him on in a series of jerky movements, sometimes going very fast, at other times moving slowly, dragging the holders "along the footsteps of the thief with the stolen goods" in and out of the houses, through the bush, and across streams, until suddenly the horn dropped from their hands to the ground, where on digging, the stolen goods were found buried. (Cf. table turning, planchette, etc.)

[illegible] A good description of [illegible] under the headings [illegible] and [illegible] is given by Garbutt,[1] who describes the Mang'anja operations. In this same article, he makes the mistake of describing as [illegible], the *[illegible]*. As I have stated above, the *[illegible]* is an order of medicine men who trap the man who is an [illegible] while in the nocturnal state, but the [illegible] points him out while he appears as an ordinary man of the village.

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[1] H. W. Garbutt, "Native witchcraft in Nyasa," [illegible], [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible].

Witch-medicine. The making of medicine against people has been shown to occupy an essential place in usawi, and it plays an important part in all conditions. So by insensible grades, the ordinary use of drugs in common diseases is reached, though it is probable that very much greater faith is placed in a packet of burnt roots put under the floor of the house than in the efficacy of any concoction taken by mouth. 754 [755]

There is a general belief that by medicine extra ability ranging into supernatural power can be acquired. This power in a general sense is represented by the word [illegible] and a man so possessed is spoken of as [illegible]. The desire for increased power may be a perfectly natural one, such as a desire for influence and popularity as a chief, or on the other hand, the power of usawi may be aimed at, or again, the knowledge of magic medicine for thieving or for any other practice. Usawi is, therefore, a relative matter. The necessary medicine or initiation into the understanding of magic can be purchased from persons already practitioners, the honest herbalist merging by imperceptible degrees into the most criminal witch-doctor. A single practitioner may prescribe a charmed dressing for an ulcer, exorcise an evil spirit by a vapor bath, sell medicine to enable the buyer to win a case at court, arrange medicine on a pathway to act as a selective love potion, or prescribe a drug to change a man into a lion. 756 787 [illegible]

Deserving of special mention are the people who thieve by the aid of medicine which they have either purchased or prepared themselves. Such a man is called [illegible] and the medicine [illegible]. The active principle of this medicine is said to be prepared from the tail of a hyena, an animal which is said to be able to enter a house where people are sleeping and kill and carry off the family without waking the occupants. The medicine is often carried in a hyena's tail. The [illegible] is supposed to approach the house he would rob and chewing some medicine in the mouth, gently blow towards it to put everyone to sleep. The door is supposed to unfasten itself and the thief is free to take what he wishes. He is even said to kill, cook, and eat food in the house while the inmates remain unconscious. A special characteristic of the [illegible] is that whatever he lays his hands on in the house he must remove, though he does not want it, so that in the morning many unwieldy, useless objects may be found outside the hut. 791 [illegible]

There are many other magic medicines. One of these, [illegible], if introduced into a village, will cause the illness and death of some inmate. Anyone handling the body of the sick man or the corpse after death, sickens and dies until the whole village is wiped out. There is a man serving a life sentence now at the Central Prison, Zomba, who was convicted of having caused the death of many people in a village in Angoniland. He is said cheerfully to have admitted the power of his medicine. 754

Medicine made from a corpse is supposed to be efficacious in various ways. The blood of a corpse is instilled into the ear for earache. Drinking the water which has been used by a corpse to wash his face relieves intestinal colic. Medicine is made from the hair of the beard of a corpse or from an [illegible] and used for chest trouble. 757 [illegible]

832 *Mpesi* is a love potion. Men are often anxious that women should ask them for love [illegible]. A man seeing a woman whom he fancies, takes up some of the dust where she has trodden and mixing this with medicine puts it in his hair. If he meets her again, though he takes no notice of her, she will come to him.

787 241 [826] When crops are harvested, a layer of the cereal is laid at the bottom of the [illegible], and on this, which consists of medicines contained in the skull of or made from the body of a still-born infant, is then put in and the store filled. In this way, he who has only a small garden may be sure that his grain will last a long time. Similar medicine is put in gardens with the first seeds to insure heavy crops. A man on the approach of the planting season should never give away seed to anyone until his own seed is put in or it may bring bad luck to his crop. This is evidently a superstition arising from the fact that if he gives seed away, he may not have enough left to raise a crop sufficient to support his family. Some people are considered "lucky at planting pumpkins; other people when they plant, reap only watery pumpkins." A man, therefore, will often ask one of the lucky people to plant his pumpkins for him. My hospital boy always got the cook to plant his pumpkins.

781 826 A man wishing to become a person of importance, with a village of his own, takes a medicine made from a certain tree and then builds his hut in a new place, hoping people will flock to him. The tree is known as [illegible]. Another medicine, taken in the belief that people will flock to a man in consequence, is made from the bush called [illegible]. Cf. birds planted at the threshold to attract visitors.

785 787 791 Conjuring. There are other performances akin to magic in the eyes of the natives, which I have never had the opportunity of witnessing but which would appear to be of the nature of juggling or possibly hypnotism; some resemble the tricks of jugglers; others are more like some of the performances in India. I naturally supposed that they had been learned from men at the coast (Zanzibar), but I am assured that they belong to the Yao themselves.

[illegible], a Yao of Chiradzulu, well known at dances and Unyago, after some preliminary dancing, stands still and is covered by a cloth; when the cloth is again removed, he is discovered with a number of squealing puppies held in his loin cloth, which he then hands round. He begins to dance again and the persons to whom the puppies have been given watch him and then find they are holding [illegible], not puppies. Or sand-fish are handed round and the people find they are holding women's diapers.

Another trick often performed by [illegible] was the burial of a man in the ground, covered up completely with earth; at the sounding of the drums the buried man comes running in from the back of the watching crowd.

[illegible], a Yao of [illegible], priest, and medicine man, after an Unyago ceremony used to put on his red blanket and walk over the hot embers of an enormous fire in the village open space. He admitted that he anointed himself with medicine and an eyewitness told me that when he put his feet on the hot logs, it caused a sizzling sound.

[illegible] was another well-known performer; he used to do the same tricks as [illegible]. He also was possessed of an elastic skin and is said to have been able "to tie his ears together behind the back of his head."

[illegible], a Yao of [illegible], is a man with considerable success. He is said to be able to produce a lion at will from a lion's tail and claw. He would offer to show this if there were any brave enough to go through with it. On a moonlight night, he would expose on the ground in a cleared space near a village the tail of a lion held cross-wise in a piece of split bamboo. At the split end of the bamboo, he would place a lion's claw and round this, a woman's belt held in position by three bamboo pegs, around which he would draw a circle of [illegible] flour. Everyone would then withdraw to a hut in which the seance was to take place. After an hour or so, [illegible] would send some one out to inspect the lion's tail where probably all would be found intact. He might then pretend to be uninterested and sleepy and suggest that some one should go out again in half an hour. Sooner or later, a man would come back, having found the tail gone; then everyone would go out to see what had happened. The pegs would be found in place but the tail and claw gone. A little way off, the split piece of bamboo would be found and farther still a bead or two from the woman's belt. These, [illegible] would pick up, and leaving a little trail of flour on their way, all returned to the hut, while he whistled as if calling some one. Suddenly they would be aroused by the sound as of a lion brushing against the hut walls, as the beasts are known to do, and soon, a loud roar. [illegible] would immediately open the door half way so that the people could look out into the moonlight and there, a little way off, would be the lion. It would immediately advance towards the house and then, as it prepared to spring for the door, [illegible] would offer it some of the flour in his left hand, armed with a stirring-stick, [illegible], in his right hand. As the lion [illegible], he would strike it on the head with the stick and lo and behold! the lion would vanish and the tail and claw would be found in his hand.

Superstitions. Scattered throughout these notes, particularly under [illegible] and Disease, mention is made of practices which show a strong belief in superstition. Below are given a number of minor beliefs, and it is interesting to compare them with many well-known superstitions in other parts of the world.

1. A child who cuts the upper incisor teeth first will be unlucky. Such children used to be killed by the Yao. (Other tribes make medicine against the threatened ill-luck.)

2. A woman with polydactylism may not take food out of a corn-store. Otherwise the stock of corn will not last long. (Rudimentary sixth fingers are not uncommon.)

3. An insect called [illegible] which lives in the mud at the bottom of pools, if killed causes the water to dry up.

4. If a boy puts a water-spider in the armpit when learning to swim, he will learn quickly.

5. A man wishing to prevent rain falling on a day he is making a journey, will wrap some of the leaves of the [illegible] tree in his loin cloth and go without drinking.

6. It is believed that signs of guilt are visible in the eye of a murderer; medicine is procured in the hope of getting rid of these signs.

7. The possession of the hair of another person is supposed to give the possessor power over that person, hence a medicine man, when the patient he has been treating is cured, shaves the patient and keeps the hair until payment is made.

8. A native with light greenish-grey eyes is not to be trusted. He is said to have eyes like a cat and is called [illegible]; these eyes are rare among natives.

9. It is unlucky for a child to get into a basket; he may be burned.

10. Should a woman turn the porridge pot upside down, every one who has eaten will become constipated. For the same reason, a woman, after turning out the porridge from the pot, just touches the top of the mass of porridge with the bottom of the pot.

11. A woman will never leave the pounding stick in the grain-mortar. Should she do so the husband would fall.

12. When a cobra is killed, a knot is tied in its tail so that eating of the meal shall not cause indigestion.

13. It is unlucky to sit upon a headrest, the [illegible]. The person would surely be bitten by a snake.

14. If a man commits murder, and his wife is pregnant at the time, she must sleep on the spear used.

15. Children are told that they must not eat at night; that if they are hungry, they must be quiet and try to go to sleep again. If they don't sleep and sit up eating porridge, a long hairy arm will come through the fastened door and beg for some, the voice of the owner saying:

"[illegible]"
"Give me that which you put to your nose to smell and throw away,"

the repeated movements of the hand to the mouth (nose) and back to the pot being supposed to make the "bogey" think that they are not really eating but merely smelling and throwing away the food.

16. A male should not scrape the porridge off the porridge stick; this is only allowed to the women. Should a man do so, it is supposed that when he goes hunting, he will hit anything he shoots at, only in the tail.

17. There is a saying that the men and boys may eat little pieces of porridge which fall out of the pot, while cooking, on to the supporting stones and it will give them power to escape unhurt from battle. The fragments are called [illegible], (from [illegible] "to escape").

18. Children are instructed to take their food sitting down instead of being in a hurry and standing to take it. They are told that if they do not obey, their porridge will not go into their stomachs but into their legs and swell out their knee-joints.

29. That portion of the gut of animals having folds of mucous membrane inside, may be eaten only by old people past the child-propagating age. If a young woman should eat it, she would have difficulty in labor. 771

30. It is believed that people who eat too freely of a little fish like whitebait called [illegible] get obstruction of the bowel by the wedging together of the bones. The treatment adopted is to pass up the rectum a smooth stick with a pad of rag at the end. This cannot be done by the person himself and as the aid of another has to be called in, only an intimacy, such as the relationship of brother-in-law gives, will warrant this service being asked.

31. The Yao believe that there is a little insect which lives in the ear, called [illegible], which tells the person what is said to him, the wax in the ear being its excrement. The pupil is called [illegible], the child of the eye.

32. Among women, the uterus is called [illegible] ([illegible] = spirit). It is supposed to be a little person who holds the foetus. When the child is born, [illegible] cannot find it and starts looking about, the movements causing the afterpains.

33. A man making his first journey to the coast used to sprinkle himself with water from every stream he crossed to give him a safe journey. In the same way, women at the present day going between Zomba and Blantyre sprinkle their babies with water from each stream.

34. An ant-like insect called [illegible] ([illegible], Chin.) ([illegible]) is lucky. On seeing it a native pats his belly and then rubs his arm, wishing for plenty of food that day. If he is embarking on a journey or beginning some enterprise, he will wrap one of these insects in a fold of his loin cloth and take it with him for luck.

35. When a native hears the [illegible] bird call (its call is like the mew of a cat), if he wants something, he immediately says, "Oh [illegible], I want so-and-so. Be quiet and I will then be quiet, too!" If the bird ceases calling, he knows the wish will be granted. The female bird is said to be the more certain prophet.

36. The snake, [illegible], which lives in trees and is of a buff clay color with green markings, is said by natives to pierce the chest and tie a knot in itself on each side so that it can only be withdrawn by cutting off one knot. When the snake is thus withdrawn, its blood mixes with that of the man and he will die.

37. Natives have a habit of marking the spot where any event takes place by a stone by the side of the path, and every passer-by will add a stone for luck. In this way some large piles of stones have been made.

38. A man coming on his way home from a long journey places a stone in the fork between the branches of a nearby tree, so that on his arrival he may find his wife has put by some food for him and has not used up the day's stock of flour.

39. A chameleon found digging in the path is said to presage the death of the finder's nearest relative.

30. If a chameleon is found holding on to the grass at both sides of the path, the path is "closed" and a man will turn back to his home and not proceed on his journey. It would be unlucky to continue.

31. [illegible] in [illegible] are a bad omen.

32. The [illegible] known as [illegible] [illegible] ("the [illegible] of [illegible]"), and the [illegible], if seen on the path, are of bad import.

33. To knock the toe against a stone on a journey is bad luck; if blood flows from the big toe, it points to good luck.

34. A man knocking the sole of his foot against a stone knows that some one is speaking ill of him.

35. A person whose hands itch knows he will receive a present.

36. Tremor of the [illegible] muscles of the right eye indicates that something good will be seen. When the left eye is affected, the outcome is bad news.

37. The cry of the bird [illegible] (the green turaco), indicates to the hunter that he is about to meet some one, either friend or enemy.

38. Anyone who kills one of the large stick-insects (Phasmidae) known as [illegible] [illegible], will always be breaking the cooking pots afterwards.

39. The natives believe that the caterpillar of the [illegible] moth will jump at the breast. It is called [illegible] [illegible], "that which jumps at the breasts," and children seeing it will cover up their nipples with their hands.

40. Of Linda, the Mongoose, there is a saying:

[58]

"Linda [illegible] [illegible]"
"The hunted mongooses relieve each other (at) the [illegible]"

It is said that mongooses assist one another when being hunted. When one is tired, a fresh one runs in so close to the pursuer that he goes after this one and leaves the tired one, and so they keep it up till the pursuer is exhausted.

41. *Chula*, the frog. Children are told they must never kill a frog, or its spirit will come at night with porridge made of excrement and make them eat it. If a small child playing with a frog kills it by misadventure, he will tear off a small piece of his calico cloth and place it by the frog as an offering.

42. *[illegible]* ([illegible], [illegible]) the weasel. It is said that the weasel hides its body and leaves exposed its anus, so that a children seeing it, goes up to poke at it, whereupon the weasel turns round quickly and catches the children with its mouth.

43. *[illegible]*, the skunk (from *ku-[illegible]*, to go to stool), so named on account of its odor, is said to apply the anus to a rat-hole and make wind. This will render insensible all the rats in the burrow and he can then dig them out at leisure.

44. *[illegible]*, the honey badger, when hunted is always said to attack a man by attempting to seize the testicles. Natives when they hunt this animal, tie strings to their loin cloths so that they hang down between the legs to distract the badger.

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48. A child, when one of its milk teeth drops out, stands some five yards away facing the door of the hut and throws the tooth over the roof of the hut, saying: 784 826

"Al Mbengale lino lyanu-dye, nikani lyenga lyambone lya" 539
"Old man tooth your there is, give me my of good one!"

Religion. The matter of the religious beliefs professed by natives of East Central Africa is one beset with many difficulties to the student of today. It has been the subject of many essays by workers in the missionary field, but the wide contact of the natives of Nyasaland with missionary effort during the past thirty years has done much to confuse the problem, and one feels that many missionaries in their writings rather color the picture with their own feelings. 771

I think probably the Yao with whom I am now concerned have a truer conception of their own beliefs than many of the subject tribes among whom mission teaching has more easily taken root. The religious beliefs of a people are to a large extent the reflection of the circumstances under which that people live. The outstanding event to all natives is death. At death, something is lost to the body, without which life is impossible. This is the lisoka which may be translated "soul" or "spirit." The lisoka is said to leave the body of the dying man when he becomes moribund or unconscious. It appears that this same lisoka may leave the body during unconscious states unassociated with death, as when a man faints, in epilepsy, and during sleep. 771 761 774

Apart from this evidence of the dissociation of the lisoka from the living body, the Yao believe that a man's shadow is an objective manifestation of the soul and they will say "the shadow is the lisoka." Fear is experienced if a man jumps on the shadow of his fellow. Light is also thrown on the constitution of the lisoka by the belief in a certain evil spirit which dwells in deep pools. It is called chimala-mesi, which means "one who may finish (drink up) all the water." The superstition regarding this evil spirit is that it can suck the blood from your shadow as you stand at the edge of the pool, till you become so weak that you fall in and are drowned. 774 774 776

After leaving the body at death, the lisoka goes to take up its place in the spirit-world, occupying a position corresponding to that held by the man during his life. With a truly materialistic conception, the soul is supposed to have all the attributes of the dead man, to be wealthy in proportion as the man was so on earth, and its relative position will be identified with that which he held among the living. The tribal chief becomes a paramount chief in the spirit world, the lesser chief holds sway in his lesser capacity, etc. We shall see that in intercession, when the tribe is threatened with calamities, it is the late paramount chief who is appealed to for help, and when one headed chief is at war with another, the chief's dead predecessor will be called upon for aid. When a village is moved, it is from the spirit of the dead headman of the village that success in the enterprise is sought. Similarly, in family trouble, some dead ancestor is entreated to set things right, while a native 775

775 setting out on a journey may ask the intercession of his deceased father to assure his safe conduct.

The spirits of the dead are in general said to dwell "above." They haunt the graveyard or visit the scenes of their life, and may be associated with natural objects or with certain animals, into which they are supposed to enter temporarily. Thus a dead man's spirit will visit the earth mound which marks the site of his old house in the village. The spirits of headmen are often thought to haunt the big trees of the village open space; such trees are held sacred for this reason. Some time ago in the old village of the chief, Malemya, a party of women cut down one of these trees for firewood, ignorant of its sacred character. With the crash of the falling tree, they became frightened, and one of the present Malemya's wives came upon the scene, predicting all kinds of evil to follow unless reparation were made to the insulted spirits of the dead chiefs. The remains of the tree lie there to this day, untouched except by natural decay.

To quote another example, near a bathing pool called *jiguwali* (from *ku-jiga*, to bathe, and *wali*, the initiates) where boys bathe after initiation, on the Domasi river, there is a small cataract whence a cloud of spray rises and a continued rumbling sound comes forth. Here, the old men say, you can hear the drumming of the spirits, while you may see pythons and the crowing cobra in whose bodies the spirits live.

As I have already mentioned, the spirit-world so far as the native has speculated on the problem is "above" in a semi-materialistic heaven. If questioned closely, the phrase "I do not know" will figure largely in his replies. He will not say there is any "marrying or giving in marriage." If a child dies, they often say, "So-and-so (some deceased person) wants a water-carrier." Indeed they often use a phrase under the circumstances identical with an English expression, "They are calling away the children."

Natives attribute to the spirits of the dead the power to partake of anything on this earth, such as food. They have no exact ideas with regard to animals and what happens to them when they die. They will not tell you that an animal has an msimu but at the same
[825] time, a goat is often killed at a funeral, with the remark, "The goat will follow the dead man." The goat's meat will be eaten by those assisting at the funeral; hence there is the suggestion of the idea that animals' spirits do go to the spirit-world.

776 In referring to the spirit-world, the native generally uses the word *ku-mulungu*, and here we have the second element in their religious beliefs, namely a supreme being; *ku-mulungu* means at the place of or with mulungu, the supreme being. *Mulungu*, however,
[845] takes a very secondary place to the msimu. He is referred to only in a general way. In answer to such questions as why has a woman an albino child born to her, she will say "*Mulungu* made it so"; in fact in reply to many questions to which the native has no answer, he will use practically our English phrase, "Oh, God knows!" and with about as much meaning.

To *Mulungu* is ascribed the sending of the rain, but apparently he has no part in giving good crops or causing a plentiful harvest, neither has he any direct interest in men's affairs, nor is he "God the creator," of man or earth. He, however, receives the spirits of the dead. Should he refuse to do so, a man continues to live. When a man has recovered from some commonly fatal disease, the natives say, "*Mulungu anikanile* (refused him)!" or if he has been very near to death and then recovers, they say "*Mulungu anamuida* (spat him out)". 776

It would thus appear that among the spirit hosts there is a regular line of precedence, and presiding over all is a supreme being, but all this is so remote as to have little importance for the living. The vagueness concerning *Mulungu*, I must admit, has given rise to some doubt in my own mind as to how far he was a deity with an entity of his own in their religion of a little time ago.

Ancestors tend to be forgotten in proportion to the length of time which has elapsed since their death, unless they played some important part during their lives: then some particular one may be remembered to the exclusion of others, and to him prayers of intercession are offered. In the case of chiefs, the names of a long line of rulers may be remembered on occasions when all else about them has fallen into oblivion. It seems possible originally *Mulungu* was the oldest ancestral chief who was raised up as a supreme being but who, in the process, has lost all other attributes. On the other hand, the word often refers only to the place where the spirits dwell; this may have been the original meaning. 769 776

There is no religious worship in the proper sense of the term but only propitiation, prayer for intercession, and return of thanks for favors granted. The keynote of this ancestor worship, the sum total of their religion to the exclusion of the belief in a supreme being, is fear. We have seen at the funeral that everything is done to lay the spirit at rest. The people wish never to hear of the spirit again. It is chiefly with a view of averting some evil that worship takes place or with a view of expiating some crime that sacrifice is made or to alleviate some suffering that communication is sought with the spirits. It is a question of, "Do us no harm, do not vent your wrath upon us for what we have left undone," rather than "Keep us from doing evil, save us from being our own enemies." It would appear to be a religion of spite, not of love and kindness, though there are glimmerings of a search after "a hand to guide and protect," as in the prayer given below and also in the action taken when removing a village. 769 [778]

As a corollary of this system of ancestor worship, there is no real priesthood. A man asks for favors for himself; the head of a family petitions a deceased father or some more remote ancestor of greater importance; the headman intercedes on behalf of the village with the spirit of a predecessor; a chief takes the place of high priest on the occasion of a tribal supplication to a former ruler, though he may be replaced by some one of his wise men who acts as intermediary. [793]

Some form of sacrifice is offered with the prayer, and often some omen is sought as a sign that the prayer is granted. For this purpose, flour made from millet called *mbepesi* (*nsembe*, Chin.) is commonly used. The word *mbepesi* probably includes any sacrificial offerings.

789 A man leaving his village on some expedition and wishing to be assured of safe conduct will procure some millet flour. Going quietly into his house, he squats down in one corner [illegible] and gently sifts the flour through his hand so that it falls on the floor in the form of a little 787 cone, repeating as he does so, his prayer for safe conduct beginning and ending with the word *chonde!* please!

[531] "*Chonde! chonde!* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
"Please, please! [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that I may go
[illegible], spirits '[illegible] [illegible], *chonde! chonde!* [illegible]'"
the path, may I arrive well where I go, please, please, please!"

He then covers the cone of flour with a basket. On the morrow, he will uncover it to see what has happened. According as the cone has remained intact or has fallen to one side or the other, the omen indicates whether or not the journey should be undertaken, the reaction being caused by the spirits to whom his supplication was addressed.

✓789 Again, there may have occurred much sickness in a village and the people conclude that the past has come to remind them that they have not been attentive to their deceased chief. "His grave-house in the village has been allowed to fall into decay," and so on. They will decide that his spirit must be propitiated. The grave-house is rebuilt, a pot is sunk in the ground, and beer is poured in, and round about heaps of flour are placed. Prayer is made to the chief at whose grave they are worshipping, supplicating him in person and "all others who are with you at *Mlungu*," asking that he will no longer cause ill to befall the village.

When a village is moved, the beer-pot from the grave of the old chief is taken to the new village and a ceremony similar to that just described takes place, with the prayer that he will come to the new village and continue to exercise his benevolent care over his people.

731 789 In 1900 when there was a threatened famine on account of long drought in Zomba district, Malemya decided that supplication for rain must be made to the spirits of his illustrious predecessors. [illegible], one of Malemya's wise men, acted as high priest. A large amount of beer was brewed and the night before the ceremony, twenty sheep and fifty goats were slaughtered. Plates of the meat, of rice and porridge were then placed on the ground round the grave-house of the old Malemya, and pots of beer set into the ground at intervals. At the head of the grave, little heaps of [illegible] flour were arranged. This flour had been prepared by such of Malemya's wives as were not near a menstrual period. The following morning, a fence was built round the grave, outside which all the people collected, while beyond them again was a second fence. [illegible], accompanied by an assistant then appeared, and amid absolute silence entered the inner enclosure. He addressed to the old Malemya, at whose grave they were all assembled, a prayer for rain. He then repeated the prayer, invoking the aid of all the past line of chiefs down to the reigning Malemya, repeating their names. Returning to the outer enclosure, he again uttered the prayers, all [514] the assembled multitude repeating them after him while lying face down, resting on their

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knees and elbows, at intervals swaying their bodies from side to side and clapping their hands. Kawinga then ordered all to go and bathe, men and women separately. As they returned from the stream, rain began to fall.

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Intercession on behalf of the sick may be made, especially by anyone who is likely to be accused of causing the illness by witchcraft.[1] The man standing with arms outstretched, downwards and a little in front of his body, the hands supine, takes some water in his mouth and discharges it in a stream on the ground, (probably as a sign of purification of his tongue), and then invoking "all the spirits above," asks that they will intercede to restore health to the sick man and bear witness to his own innocence of any wish to do the sick man injury. *Ku-pepa* is the word meaning to offer sacrifice and prayer.

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Harvesting and hunting are occasions when sacrifices may be offered. It was formerly the custom for the chief to determine the day on which harvesting of millet should begin. On the day appointed, a big drum was beaten in the village and word passed round; then everyone would go down to his garden, gather a head of millet, and bring it back to the village where it was all handed over to the chief's headwife. After drying and threshing, a little of the grain was laid at the grave of an old chief by one of the reigning chief's advisers, the remainder being again distributed to all the people gathered together in the village meeting place, who ate it raw. After this ceremony, harvesting began.

In passing through a millet garden, if a child asks his mother to give him some to eat, she plucks a head or two and reverently laying one at the foot of a msolo tree for the spirits or at the base of some other tree, if she cannot see a msolo, she gives the rest to the child.

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When a hunting expedition makes its first killing, part of the flesh of the animal is laid at the base of a tree as a thank offering to the spirits and in anticipation of further favors to be conferred. All such offerings are supposed by the natives to be partaken of by the spirits, though they are well aware that they do not actually diminish in quantity. There is an interesting point in this connection: any man who has acted as sabila (undertaker) to some well-known man may appropriate these offerings. In the case of the hunting offering, he will run round the tree, saying, "I am a hyaena, the spirits will not mind me," and will then take part of the flesh-offering and eat it.

In the same way, a sabila may drink from a grave beer-pot after three days, when the spirits are supposed to have taken what they want.

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With the exception of the msolo tree above mentioned (salima, Chin.), and possibly another called mlo-upasa (Chin.), which is never used as firewood and which is supposed to be used by mauwi, I do not think there are any sacred trees properly so-called. Miss Werner supposes that many of the big trees (often a species of *Ficus*) in villages are sacred.[2] The truth is, I believe, simply that a village is made naturally round a big tree which conveniently offers its shade for the village meeting place. The spirits of deceased chiefs may

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[1] This paper, p. 283.

[2] The natives of British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 50.

As an example of another kind of intermediary may be mentioned a woman called [illegible], who, though an *Anyanja*, was well known among the Yao of Zomba. She was consulted on many occasions about the future, about rain, or the prevention of disease. She was a woman of quiet ways and greatly respected; she had no fixed abode but was received everywhere and given food and shelter. She would sometimes disappear from the district and travel to far distant places. A son, born to her when a young woman, was lately a patient under my care, a man of about forty-eight. On one occasion she was consulted about an epidemic of ulcers among the people near Zomba. She asked all the people from the villages to go down to Lake Shirwa and to take a white fowl with them. When they had all collected, she appeared, carrying in each hand a little gourd containing [illegible] flour, and a small open basket on her head. She took the fowl in one hand and then proceeded to walk into the water, saying she would have to go to a little hill on an island in the lake called *Chisi [illegible]* and that she would come back in three days. She then walked on into the water and disappeared below its surface. In three days time, she returned to the village and said that the women must give up dancing the [illegible] dance for twelve months and all would be well. [illegible]

On other occasions she usually worked along similar lines. Consulted as to whether or not some sick person would recover, she always answered with the same formula, if she thought he would die, "The house is prepared for him and medicine would avail nothing!"

There are certain other supernatural persons or spirits to which reference must be made. [illegible] has been mentioned above. *Masoka*, a word which Hetherwick translates as "madness, idiocy,"[1] really refers to the delusions and hallucinations which form part of the perceptions of the insane. The word also has the meaning of obsession, phobia, and intuition; thus the natives say of an ox about to be slaughtered that shows signs of realizing the approaching evil, "It has *masoka*." On the other hand, they say the hartebeest is a foolish animal that does not know what to do when hunted: "It has *masoka*, it is a deluded animal." Again, the baboon and the crow "have *masoka*"; they are possessed of senses or faculties which warn them of the approach of any enemies before they can be seen or heard; they cannot be stalked. In all these cases, the sound of hallucinatory voices pursuing some individuals, the voice of the delirious insane patient, and that which appears to warn the crow or the baboon, are all *masoka* and are, I think, supposed by the natives to have some kind of materialistic form. [illegible]

Ndondocha: when the wizards[2] do not wish immediately to devour the body of a deceased person which they have raised from the grave, they cut off the arms and legs at the elbows and knees and insert medicine into the stumps; these living-dead are then compelled by the wizards to live in caves and hollow ant hills during the day and to follow them at night in their travels, "like a herd of goats," to be eaten as required. The *ndondocha* may be heard as they wander along in the night, making sounds like a cat's mew. A woman will [illegible]

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[1] Yao Language, op. cit., p. [illegible].

[2] Vide supra, p. [illegible].

781 never have any food outside at night, not even the chaff from the grain she has been pounding, lest these most miserable of beings be attracted by it.

776 *Chiwanda* is a word common to several tribes and among them appears to have various shades of meaning. Among the Wayao, the *ilomo* are "the little people" of the leprechaun order. They rob the gardens and come out among the pumpkins; their little footprints can be seen where they have passed hither and thither; fruits and vegetables that they touch will become bitter. To prevent these disasters, the Yao, at the time when their crops are ripening, place different kinds of vegetables at cross-roads, hoping thereby to satisfy the *ilomo* and prevent them coming into the gardens. As far as I am aware, the *ilomo* have nothing to do with famine and are in no way connected with *Mlungu*, to be mentioned below, as Macdonald believed.[1] The *chiwanda* is variously said to be "like a man but rather like an animal." He has two legs but goes on all fours.

The Yao describe another legendary race of "little people" who used to live in this country and who may still be met with, — "who knows?" They were of a very small stature, grew long beards, were very touchy, quarrelsome, and fierce, and carried spears. When anybody met one, he was immediately asked: "*Mwaliwada kungo?*", "From how far did you see me?" and it was always well to pretend to have seen the little man coming a long way off and make him believe he was considered quite a big person; if you said "Hallo, I have only just spotted you!", he would immediately spear you. They are commonly supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains and are less nowadays. They are called the *Mwaliwada kungo*.

[77] There is no relation as far as I know between these two classes of "little people," but I think these stories go to uphold the theory recently advanced by Hastings Gidford in his Huxleyian Lecture (1914) that folk-lore fables of hobgoblins, etc., have a basis in fact. He believes that dwarf races at one time were to be found, possibly over a very wide area of the globe. In this country, I think it may be that one sees the transition from historical facts to true fairy stories.

[77] The *Anyanja* have the same legend about these "little people," the *mwandi mwaulani* ("where-did-you-see-me"); it is indeed not only wide-spread throughout this country, (the *Akunga* and *Ankonde* in North Nyasa district speak of the *mwaulimwaulu* who ask the same question), but there is a very similar legend among the *Akikuyu* in British East Africa.[2]

The *chiwanda* is doubtless the *chirombo* of the *Anyanja*, mentioned in Scott's dictionary,[3] as Miss Werner[4] has supposed, for one finds that among the *Anyanja* at the southern end of the Protectorate, the *chiwanda* is described as having only one side to his body so that he is invisible when viewed from the off side, thus resembling the *chirombo* who has one half of his body made of wax.

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[1] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 72.

[2] M. W. H. Beech, 'Pre-Bantu occupants of East Africa,' (Man, London, 1915, p. 40-41).

[3] Op. cit., p. 89.

[4] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 80.

[illegible] [illegible] is the prophet of famine, a man of great height who stalks the round of the country, stepping from hill-top to hill-top along "the fairy way," the "*[illegible] wa [illegible] [illegible]*," which is supposed to run right around Nyasaland and never to cross a river, starting and ending somewhere near the junction of the Shiré with the Zambezi river. As he goes, he can be seen from a hundred miles away. He carries the *[illegible]* instrument and plays as he walks, singing: 776

"*[illegible]* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]" [539]
"You cry out (in trouble) with the [illegible] therefore I must call up the [illegible], this source of famine!"

which might be rendered, "You people grumble about small troubles, so I will teach you to know better by inflicting great ones." When he is seen, there will be famine.

It will be convenient here to allude briefly to some of the beliefs connected with meteorological phenomena, as some of them have a bearing on native religious beliefs. The remarks made under this heading for the *Anyanja* hold good for the Yao. The morning and evening stars are called *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, the good cook and the bad cook. They are looked upon as the two wives of the moon, one of whom feeds him so well that he grows fat, the other who does not, so he wastes away. The constellation of the Pleiades is called *[illegible]*; the Milky Way, *[illegible] [illegible]*, "the vanisher of the night," when high in the heavens, dawn is near. When shooting stars are seen, natives exclaim "*[illegible] [illegible]*!" *[illegible]* is a many-pointed arrow. Eclipses are recognized but no explanation is vouchsafed. Thunder is supposed to be the noise of rain falling in the heavens before it reaches the earth. The rain is sometimes supposed to be the condensing steam from an enormous pot of water boiling over a furnace fire in heaven. The lightning is conceived as a lizard-like animal which dwells in the clouds and darts out from behind them and comes to earth and breaks up trees and may kill a man. Mica is supposed by the Yao to be its excrement. The animal is called *[illegible]*, and is the same as *[illegible]* of the *[illegible]* who consider the mica to be the broken egg-shell of the lightning dragons' eggs. There is a large red compound lily, a species of *Haemanthus* also called *[illegible]*, which is in some way connected with the lightning. No Yao child would ever touch this flower. Children are always advised never to seek shelter under a big tree but always to make for a bamboo thicket, for if the lightning strikes the bamboo and splits it, it will get caught inside the hollow stem. [821] [824]

Gales of wind are said to emanate from a plant called *[illegible]*. It is described as having one process like an elephant's trunk and others like two fingers. It is found on the tops of very high mountains, growing alone and surrounded by bare rock. This plant is used by medicine men to gain supernatural powers. *[illegible]* is also the name of a parasitic plant on the charcoal trees in Nyasaland. [824]

The world is taken by the natives as they find it; to them no explanation for its being is necessary. So far as I can find out, there is no idea among the Yao of a Creator. The 776 773

776 origin of mankind is explained in a story given elsewhere; *Mulungu* takes no part, nor is
775 the supernatural even invoked in explanation.

781 The religion of the Yao may thus be summed up as ancestor worship plus an ill-defined, uncertain belief in a supreme being. Their religion is not animistic. There are certain spirits of evil, demons, fairies and supernatural beings and animals which, however, do not play any real part in their religious beliefs.

591 **Native Sayings.** Natives are very fond of sayings, many of which are of the same nature as our own proverbs. The meaning of many of them is, however, not always self-evident but depends on some little story with a moral.

The following are some of those which I have collected among the Yao near Zomba:

1. *[illegible]* (or *[illegible]*)
   He caught a fish, (a mouse!)

An expression meaning "He slipped down." The variations being used when wet or when dry under foot.

2. *[illegible]*
   Cunning it is the eyes (evident).

An expression meaning "Look out; some one is after us!"

[illegible]
Rabbit he sleeps!

This is a Nyang'anja equivalent to the above.

3. *[illegible]*
   A thing that did not listen they cooked it among the herbs!

An insect which had not listened to advice about the dangers of sitting on herbs used as vegetables, was gathered up by a woman and cooked with them.
An expression used with the sense "If you do not take advice and anything happens to you, it will be your own fault."

4. *[illegible]*
   Medicine is in the nest

Meaning "You are forewarned; it is your own look out!"

5. *[illegible]*
   Mr. Would-Be-Clever they left with the skull!

Ku-kalamuka, to be clever (to show off); an expression made to a newcomer who unbidden joins in a discussion. It has reference to the following story and means that anyone joining a party unbidden may find himself in an awkward situation. Some strangers came to a village, and after being given food and quarters, all retired for the night. One of them, however, Mr. Would-Be-Clever, hearing something going on outside crept out of the house to find out what was happening. Seeing some people playing at catch-ball, he

[illegible]

joined in the game, unasked. That moment, the ball came in his direction and catching it in the moonlight, he suddenly found himself grasping a bleached human skull, while every-one else had vanished. There he had to stand frightened as he was till the morning, when he was found in this ridiculous predicament.

6. *[illegible]*
   Mr. If-He-Were-You let escape the baboons of the corner (himself).

Ningwene, meaning "If I were you" is also used.

This expression signifies "A man cannot serve two masters" or "He who tries to please everybody will please none," as is explained in the following story. Mr. Tongwe and another man had their gardens adjacent to one another but the latter's was next to the forest and the baboons used to come and ravage his crops. He therefore consulted a medicine man who gave him medicine to put all over the garden, which would cause all the baboons who came to the garden to die. "But," said the medicine man, "you must promise to bring me the *[illegible]*" (the little baboon which acts as sentinel and guide). The man did as he was told with the medicine and in the morning found all the baboons dead in the garden; so picking up the body of the *[illegible]*, he was just going off with it to the medicine man, when Mr. Tongwe in the next garden who had been a witness of the good wrought by the medicine, said, "If I were you I should not take the little *[illegible]*, but the biggest baboon to give to the medicine man," so after hesitating, he picked up the biggest baboon to take instead of the little one. Immediately, it and its fellows came to life again and ran away into the forest!

7. *[illegible]*
   While they delayed, the children singed the [illegible]!

This expression has the meaning, "If you do not do a thing at once, you may be too late!" and has reference to another story. Some youths out hunting killed an animal which they did not recognize, so one of them went back to the village where he found the old men all chatting and told them they had killed an animal they did not know. The old men said, "We will come and see it", but they went on chatting until a second message came. Still they said, "Yes, we are just coming," but they did not go; so the boys not knowing any better, instead of removing the skin, which is of value, with the hair on, singed all the hair off which was their custom with some animals, so that eventually, when the old men arrived they found they had lost a valuable skin. Another saying with the same meaning is: *[illegible]*, "By delaying she gave birth to a child on the road."

8. *[illegible]*
   (He who said, "I look at the sun", he went astray! [Cf. *[illegible]*.]
   (He [illegible] inside he went!
   Mr. The-One-Who-[illegible] arrived at the village!

An expression indicating that a man who is anxious about doing a thing may come to grief, whereas the man who takes the trouble to get information gains his object.

9. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
In the moonlight you cannot cut out a thorn!

A free English translation of this saying would be, "There is a proper time for doing everything." It involves the implication that doing a thing at the wrong time may result in evil.

10. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
The Mouth hurt master his!

An expression indicating that careless speech may bring a man into trouble: the mouth is looked upon as the slave of the body. The expression has reference to a story which points a moral against smoking hemp. There was once upon a time a big chief who had a headman ([illegible]) to whom he entrusted all his messages. One day, the chief wanted them for hoeing and the big drum was beaten to call all the people together, and then, the chief leading, they all went to the gardens, but the headman who used to smoke hemp lagged behind and in coming later, while crossing an open glade between the village and the gardens, he saw a human skull beside the path. Half intoxicated with the hemp, he kicked it, saying "Who killed you?" The skull answered, "[illegible]!" The man was frightened and so kicked it again; then going off to the chief, he related what had happened. The chief and all the people returned with the headman to the place where the skull was and the headman, kicking the skull, asked again who had killed him, but no answer came, and so with a second interrogation. Then the chief had the headman bound and said, "What you say cannot be trusted. You waste our time with your untruths," and he had him killed.

11. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Having [illegible] you must not hide the [illegible]!

An expression meaning "If you have no further use for a thing yourself, do not throw it away; it may be useful to others!"

12. *Lelo lelo* [illegible] [illegible]
Today today the [illegible] was blackened!

A saying meaning "he who hurries will not do best!" *Lelo*, today; [illegible] here has the meaning "in a hurry." [illegible] is the name of a small jet black bird. The story goes that when all the birds were being painted, the [illegible] bird was very impatient and coming up to the painter, said, "I must be done today; I am in a hurry." The painter said it would take longer but acting on [illegible] persistent wish to be done quickly, he just took up a brush and painted him black all over. The following is sometimes added:

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (or [illegible])
Being patient the [illegible] bird came by again (or marks on its head).

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13. Chondinga, [illegible]
    Chondinga, they eat guinea-fowl raw!

An expression depending for its meaning on the story given below, used by a husband to his wife or by one woman to another, intimating that the woman has delegated her work to some one else and is not looking after things properly. A man killed a guinea-fowl and gave it to his wife to cook. She, however, gave it to her servant, Chondinga, to cook in the house while she sat doing nothing on the veranda, calling from time to time to know whether it was cooking well, to which always came answer in the affirmative, "eh." When the meal of porridge was ready in the evening, and she went to get the guinea-fowl from the pot in the kitchen, she found that it lay in the pot in cold water as her servant had only put one handful of grass to make the fire under the pot and then left it.

14. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
    By holding a torch stick (to see if the hare was asleep) before it had lain down!

An expression used to a man who by precipitate action without due caution loses that which he seeks to gain as in the following case: If a man seeks a girl in marriage whom he wants to take to live with him far away in his own village, instead of himself settling in her village according to custom, he must not let this be known or he would be refused.

15. *[illegible] [illegible]*
    (Your wife) she is shewing the porridge stick!

An expression used to a man who is homesick.

16. *[illegible]*
    (He has or you have) the perseverance of a mouse!

An expression used to anyone who keeps on asking for something and is a nuisance.

17. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
    The flour (ought) to be painted on the forehead and on the back of the head also!

[illegible] is the offering of millet flour to the departed spirits, or as here, the medicinal flour used by the chief to smear the front and back of the head of each boy at the end of the initiation ceremonies. The meaning of the expression is that "one should not only look forward to the good things of the future but also remember all the help that has been given one in the past."

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18. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
    He who comes and goes and comes again they shoot him with an arrow in the buttocks!

Of which the sense is "a man may do wrong once but if he continues to do so, he will suffer for it."

19. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
    The pig was made a scapegoat (on account of) the gleanings!

A pig who was found picking up the remnants of a crop in a field which had been robbed, was thought to be the thief and killed.

57 30. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!
He was "let in" badly over the fish-sticks!

A man had put a lot of fish on spits to roast round the fire. While he went to get some more firewood, a thief came and took all the fish. A stranger then approached and was examining one of the sticks, saying, "There must have been a very nice fat fish on this stick," when the owner returned and immediately accused the innocent stranger of stealing his fish. A native coming across a corpse will run away, using the above expression; for if he reports the matter, he may be the first to be accused.

31. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!
The impotent man had born to him a child in a joke!

[illegible] A native man who is impotent is very much looked down on and he is the laughing stock of the village. He is constantly made fun of by the women. The story goes that such a man when being chaffed, said, "All right, let me have the prettiest girl in the village," and they said, "All right, old [illegible], you can do her no harm." But it came to pass that she became pregnant and the women were disgraced. The meaning of the expression is: what is done as a joke may become a reality.

32. *[illegible]!*
Days many, hairs of an animal few!

There are more days than there are hairs in an animal's coat! If A has done a good turn to B, and B behaves badly to A, A will remonstrate, using the above expression, meaning, "You may want my help again some day, but I shall then refuse and you will suffer."

33. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*
The (country) earth cannot (be) measured in cubits!

Meaning, "You never know when you may want return for your good deeds.

34. *[illegible]! or [illegible]!*
To be generous (is) to save up, to be stingy (is) to deny oneself! or to throw in the fire!

Kindness returns to the doer.

35. *[illegible]!*
Two-men (is) good, someone he cannot rub the back!

[illegible] = to rub the back of another person while bathing, a thing a native appreciates very much. An expression often used with the meaning, "There is safety in numbers." ([illegible])

36. *[illegible] [illegible]!*
Being in a state of poverty, one must not hang (oneself)!

[illegible] = to be poor, to be in trouble. Do not give up hope.

37. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*
Having become sick one must jump for joy in the dark corner of the house.

Meaning "Though you are prosperous at the moment, do not make a show; all these things may pass away quickly," or [illegible] "One should not rejoice openly."

28. [illegible]
They have eaten monkey fruit on the head!

The inmate of a household who betrays the friendship of the husband by culpable intimacy with his wife is said "to eat monkey fruit with the wife over the head of the husband." (Cf. French, [illegible].)

29. [illegible]
The arrow he is watching, it does not take long to reach the eye!

A man who looks on and does not take steps to stop an ill at the beginning will suffer heavily in the end.

30. [illegible]
You kept me holding a stone!

You are late in your appointment; you have kept me waiting.

31. [illegible]
The jackal when he swallows [illegible] fruit is confident; (i.e. a jackal knows he can void the seeds of this fruit).

[illegible] has the sense of when jumping over a stream, the jumper is sure of landing on the opposite bank. The expression used of a man means that he feels pretty sure to get through with what he is doing. (Note: [illegible] jackals are said to eat [illegible] but always to expel the seeds from the mouth, as the seeds are sharp-pointed and very irritating. I have myself seen a man die from perforation of the bowel by these seeds.)

32. [illegible]
(He has) [illegible] of the bat!

Reference is made here to the habits of the bat which often makes a meal of figs and then flying to other trees, leaves its droppings under them also so that one might take them to be fig trees, too. The saying refers to a man who manages to involve a lot of others in his own trouble.

33. [illegible]
The [illegible] they (people) admire (its) footprints!

The [illegible] is a small rodent whose footprints may be seen all over the gardens in the morning, but seldom the animal itself. The meaning of the saying is, "If you are going to steal, it does not matter if you leave your footprints, but do not hang about and get caught!"

34. [illegible]
Mr I-Must-Do-Well they on him hanged the [illegible]!

Well meaning people often get into trouble! This refers to a story of a man who had a great friend in another village who died. Hearing he was dead, he went to the village and found all the relatives mourning the dead man. To show his friendship, he commenced wailing and went into the house and lay down by the corpse among the chief mourners, though not one of them; here, he fell asleep. While asleep, evil spirits ([illegible]) came and cut open the corpse and removing the liver, they took out the entrails and hung them about the sleeping man's neck, and smeared his hands with blood. In the morning, the mourners found the man in this condition and to avenge what they supposed to be the desecration of their dead, they killed him. The interpretation put upon this story and the meaning of the saying is that "however well intentioned you may be, you should not transgress custom."

35. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*
The fowl of strangeness long tail

A newcomer in the fowl-yard is pecked at by the other fowls and if it had a long tail, this would be noticed. In the same way, "if you are a stranger in a place, anything you do will be remarked, therefore your conduct should be exemplary."

36. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*
Do not mess me with the messes of [illegible]!

This is a woman's saying, meaning, "I don't want to be dragged into your quarrel!" [illegible] is an interesting word. It is a girl's name used as Polly is used in English in speaking to any girl child whose name you do not know: "Come here, Polly, and show me the person's house." For Tommy used in the same way, the [illegible] say [illegible].

37. *[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*
The lent basket he dealt in a neighbour!

[illegible] is a small flat basket with ornamented rim. The meaning of the phrase is "one's neighbours are not always disinterested."

38. *[illegible] [illegible]!*
He has stolen again!

This is an expression used of anyone who has hiccough. It is said that he is so surprised at being thus accused that the hiccough stops.

39. *[illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]!*
You girl, (with) expectation he burnt blistering in the back!

In a native house, the man and woman lie side by side on a mat between the fire and hut wall, the man next the fire, facing it when sleeping. When he wishes to enjoy marital relations, he turns towards the woman and lies on his side with his back to the fire. The saying refers to the amorous husband whose advances are refused by his wife, but he persists until his back is blistered by the heat of the fire. The saying intimates that it is no good going on wanting a thing refused you; you only suffer for it.

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49. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Lying on the rock, here!

This is a sharp expression which is full worth note. "It is nice and warm lying on a rock in the sun, but it is not so comfortable as being in bed in company with your wife; you can go on waiting but you won't get anything." This might even be said to a dog, watching as a dog will, every morsel of food lifted to its master's mouth.

50. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
To have begun of water for maggots!

It is a custom before lying down to sleep on the floor mat, to take it up and pour boiling water on the earth floor to kill any blood-sucking maggots (Congo floor-maggot, *Auchmeromyia*). If you see a pot cooking on the fire, you naturally think there is food being prepared but you may be disappointed; it may only be the pot for heating the water to kill the maggots. The saying is thus used to a man who has made no [illegible] and is disappointed but goes on waiting. [513] [514]

51. [illegible] [illegible]
To bite ant-eater-like!

The ant-eater is described by natives as going up to what it will eat, remaining quiet for some moments, and then suddenly taking a bite. This is said of a man who comes up to you smiling and then hits you a hard blow. [525]

Among the Yao as among other tribes that I have previously mentioned,[1] signs of submission to a superior are made by clapping the hands or patting the breast or forehead with one hand, at the same time crouching down. A woman will go off the path and kneel, looking away from a superior passing along the roadway. 576

A person going by the door of a hut where others are sitting, will say "[illegible] [illegible]! At the door here." Passing behind anyone, he will say "[illegible] [illegible]! At the back!" Meeting anyone on a path, a man will simply say, "*[illegible]*, here," adding perhaps, "*[illegible]*! all is well?" A chief or headman on returning to his village after a journey, is greeted by the women with trilling of the tongue (*Ku-lulula*). [201]

Man and wife do not greet each other in the morning. The wife rises first and draws water and places it in the hut for the husband's use but nothing may be said.

When a visitor is entertained and a chicken cooked for a repast, the "pope's nose" is always for the visitor. The right hand only is used in dipping into the common pot. A man of small importance, though replete, will go on making pretence of eating at a common meal by taking very small amounts so that his superior shall finish first, and rise and go away before him.

I may here add the words used by the Yao for the sounds made by various animals; they are interesting to compare with those of other languages. 92.

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[1] "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. [illegible].

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The dog	[illegible] (as in hat).
The cat	[illegible]
The cock	[illegible]
The hen	[illegible]
The duck	[illegible]
The cow	[illegible]
The sheep	[illegible] (as in father).
The goat	[illegible]
The dove	[illegible]
The lion	[illegible]

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Among the Yao, abuse and obscene language are rare; expressions which appear in other languages all the world over are only used on great provocation and commonly with dire results. This, too, is opposed to the ways of neighboring tribes, the Anyanja and Angoni, who freely make use of such expressions as "*[illegible]*" and "*[illegible]*" "The pudenda of your mother! Clitoris of your mother!"

The following exclamations of abuse and expressions of obscenity will be seen to follow very closely upon those in other countries.

1. *[illegible]!* (to a girl or woman), *[illegible]!* (to a boy or man) means you are a person who has not been to your Unyago, and therefore "you are without manners!"

2. *[illegible]!* an expression to a child meaning "you little wretch," "you nasty little thing!"

3. *[illegible]!* he eats with the back of his hand, he is uncircumcised, i.e. "he is a dirty person!"

4. A man with big ears is hailed "look at your ears like a house!" ([illegible], house).

A Yao woman seldom or never swears at or uses bad language to a man and vice versa; the woman, however, is not behindhand in the art of bitter complaining and nagging.

[illegible]
Pulling down the lower eyelid with the finger accompanying some exclamation has exactly the same significance as in European countries, "I am not so green as I look!"

Ku-ompa is to make a sound like "pish" with the mouth, and is a great insult, for which a man will fight.

Screwing of the lips to one side as in the action to get rid of the sour skin of a fruit, *[illegible]* is an expression of contemptuous disgust.

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The similarity to European ways is again seen in swearing or taking oath. A Yao swears by the spirits of his ancestors or by a chief:

"*[illegible]!*"
"(By) the grave of [illegible]!"

or he may indirectly name some ancestor:

"*[illegible]!*" or "*[illegible]!*"
"I swear by the spear!" "I swear by the [illegible]!"

meaning I swear by the spirits of him who was killed with a spear (or by a lion), referring to some one well known to have in such wise met his end, or again: 695 5M

"[illegible]"
"I swear by the fields of (all) men!"

as equivalent to swearing by the day of judgement; or again a man may swear by his own death:

"[illegible]"
"Death may it enter (my) neck!"

as he will intimate that his throat should be cut by drawing his finger across the neck, if he does not speak the truth.

There is a joke around Zomba in swearing. A man saying, "I swear so and so," is asked, "By whose grave-house? [illegible]" The man who is in reality only bluffing will say, "Chikoma! By Chikoma's grave!" Chikoma a small headman near Zomba of whom much fun is made.

Native stories. The fables or stories found among the Zomba Yao are many of them variations of well known tales, and have been collected to some extent by others. I only propose to add here free translations of a few I do not remember to have read elsewhere. 5M

The Hare and the Elephant

The elephant made a big garden and planted sugar-cane. When it had grown, he asked all the other animals to come and partake of it with him. When they had all assembled, the buffalo, the eland, and all the other antelopes, the zebra and all the smaller animals, the elephant invited them to eat. He made one condition, however, anyone who, having chewed the sugar-cane, made a sucking sound as he swallowed the juice before spitting out the fibrous part would be killed ([illegible], Chin. [illegible], to suck, making the sound "[illegible]").

So the animals all sat in a long line and the buffalo started chewing his piece of sugar-cane, but when he tried to get all the juice out of his piece, he went "[illegible]!" so the elephant twisted his head till he was dead, and then picking him up, threw the carcass aside. The same fate followed for the eland, for all the antelopes and the lion, so that the other animals became afraid and would not volunteer to eat the sugar-cane but went away and the carcasses of the dead animals were buried. The elephant then appointed another day and invited the animals to come again and try.

That day, the hare came and made salutation by clapping to the elephant who demanded what he wanted, so the hare replied, "I have come to eat sugar-cane." "You know my rule," said the elephant. "Yes," said the hare, "I know your rule but I want some sugar-cane." So he was given some while all the other animals looked on to see what would happen. "Please," said the hare to the elephant, "may I have the outside part stripped off, as I have not got strong teeth?" This was done for him and he started munching some pieces of sugar-cane as he sat on a stone with the rest of the cane beside him, while the elephant watched. "Did you kill the buffalo just for saying 'schloch'?" said the hare, as he sucked the juice from the fibre. "Yes," answered the elephant. The hare pondered awhile as he chewed up some more cane. "Did you kill the eland for saying 'schloch'?" again asked the hare. "Yes," answered the elephant, as the hare each time spat out the sucked-dry fibre. With each mouthful the hare asked about another animal until he had finished all his sugar-cane.

Thus the elephant, seeing that the hare had finished and had not once made a sucking noise as he swallowed the juice, said, "You are a wonderful animal" and he gave him half his garden and they have been friends ever since.

This is one of the many stories illustrating the hare's supposed cleverness and cunning.

The Hawk and the Cock

How the birds of prey came to ravage the fowls

At one time, all the eagles and hawks used to be afraid of fowls. The cock inspired them with awe; they thought with his crest of red horns, he must be very dangerous. One day after talking it over, they decided to send their little brother, the Katotola (the smallest of the hawks) to investigate matters. So Katotola flew down to the earth as an ambassador of peace to interview the cock who was strutting about with his family. He explained to the cock that the eagle, Kapungu, their king, wished to be on friendly terms with the cock but that they were afraid of his crown of red horns. The cock answered that it was not made of horn but was quite soft; "Come and feel it," said he, "it is nothing to be afraid of." Katotola was frightened, but when the cock repeated the invitation, Katotola did so. He was surprised to find it soft and evidently nothing to be afraid of. The cock accepted the eagle's message of friendliness, so Katotola said good-bye and prepared to fly away. Just then, he spied one of the cock's daughters and no longer being afraid, he darted down and picked her up and bore her away to the presence of the eagle to whom he related how the cock was nobody to be frightened of, saying, "See here, I have carried off one of his daughters." So all the eagles and hawks saw that the fowls and their cock were a weak tribe and they could easily make war on them and carry off their children.

The Pig and the Baboon

How once friends, they parted, the baboon staying on the tops of the hills, the pig going down into the plains

Long ago, the pig and the baboon used to live together on the hill-sides. One day, it was very cold and a cutting wind was blowing. As the pig and the baboon sat on a rock in the sun trying to get warm, the baboon turned to the pig and said, "This wind is enough to wear the end of one's nose to a blunt point." "Yes," answered the pig, "it's really enough to blow the hairs off one's buttocks and leave a bare, dry patch." "Look here," said the baboon getting cross, "you are not to make personal remarks"! "I did nothing of the kind," retorted the pig, "but you were rude to me first." This started a quarrel and they came to the conclusion that neither cared for the other's company. So they parted and the baboon went up on to the rocky top of the hill, while the pig went down to the plains.

The Cock and the Crocodile

"*Kokolilikol Cha Ngwena ambuenga!*"

"Cock-a-doodle-do, the crocodile is my friend!"

When the reptiles heard the cock giving voice, one morning, they were much annoyed, saying, "What is the cock that he takes in vain the name of our King!" and they made a case about it, and all the birds and reptiles came to attend the case, and the crocodile and the cock were also present.

After the reptiles had made their charge against the cock, the eagle Kapungu, king of the birds, spoke, saying, "This is a matter of clan relationship. Can the cock claim the crocodile as his *ambuenga*? What is the crocodile? What is the cock? We must get to the bottom of the question. Is it not from an egg that each comes?" To which the crocodile answered, "You speak truly but we had never thought of it before; we are friends," and then he swore that inasmuch as men killed his brother the cock, he would kill men, and from that day to this, he is man's enemy.

NOTE: This is an interesting story with its reference to clan relationship. The native seems to forget, however, that a crocodile will devour fowls along with most other things, including his own brother.

The Tortoise and the Baboon

Why the baboon has no tail

Once upon a time, the tortoise made friends with the eagle and invited him to come and pay a visit. So one day the eagle alighted at the tortoise's home and was there entertained and fed. When leaving, he asked the tortoise to return the call but the tortoise having explained that he could never walk to the eagle's place of abode, it was decided that the eagle should then and there carry him. So the tortoise asked the eagle to wait for a few minutes and he went into his house and got a bag. Into the bag the tortoise crept, asking the eagle to fasten up the bag and tie it to his leg and thus fly with him to his home. Arrived there, the eagle gave his guest fish to eat and the next day when the tortoise wished to leave, he received some fish to take with him. This was put in the bag fastened up with a long piece of string, the other end of which the tortoise tied round his neck. Saying good-

539 bye to the eagle he asked him to toss him down from the tree so that he could reach the ground and walk home. On reaching the ground, he started off for home with the bag trailing by the string behind him. On the way, he met some baboons, one of whom seeing the bag ran and took it, saying it was his find and belonged to him. The tortoise naturally argued the point and they decided to go to the elephant to have the dispute settled. After hearing the evidence of both sides, the elephant gave his verdict in favor of the baboon. "The baboon had found the bag and therefore it must belong to him. If it had belonged to the tortoise, he would have been carrying it on his shoulders." So the tortoise had to go home without his bag of fish. After a few days, he thought out a plan of revenge. Going to a place where he knew the baboons often met, he dug a hole under a stone and getting into the hole, he lay in wait. Presently the baboons arrived and one came to sit on the stone. Creeping out of his hole, the tortoise laid hold of the baboon's tail, calling out, "I have found a *chikoti* (whip)." The baboon immediately replied that it was his tail. "No," said the tortoise, "I have found it trailing on the ground. Finding is keeping; anyway we will go to the elephant about it." So they went again to the elephant who upheld the tortoise, and ordered the baboon to cut off his tail and so the baboon lost his tail.

THE SNAKE AND THE PARTRIDGE

Once upon a time, there was a partridge who lived in the grass on the plain. One day a bush fire spread towards the place where he was feeding and he decided that he must fly to a place of safety. As he was taking his little run preparing to fly, a snake called to him, saying, "I can find no hole to get into and I am afraid I shall be burnt. Let me coil myself about your neck and you could thus carry me to a spot which is already burnt." The partridge agreed and with the snake wound round his neck, he flew away and alighted on a place over which the fire had already passed. "Now," said he, "would you mind unwinding yourself from my neck?" But the snake answered, "What am I going to eat here in this burnt place?" and tightening his coils, he strangled the partridge.

There is a saying apropos of this story:

"*Ndende 'chemna wandaje angwale!*"
"I may do well killed partridge!"

and one in Chinyanja:

"*Ukoma unapha nkwale!*"
"Kindness killed the partridge!"

Ndende 'chemna and *ukoma* have the meaning "the wish to do a kindness; Misplaced kindness is fraught with danger!"

THE HARE, THE LEOPARD, AND THE BUSHBUCK

Once upon a time, a man hoed his garden and planted it with beans. When the crop grew, he was much troubled by the animals from the forest which came and damaged his beans, so he set a snare to catch them by the leg. One day, a leopard came that way and got caught in the trap. After a time as he lay there unable to move, he spied a bushbuck with his mate and four young ones and called to him to come and help him. The bushbuck, when he saw the leopard in the trap, took pity on him and undoing the rope, set him free. Said the leopard, "I have been here three days and am famished. You have been very kind to me. Will you extend your kindness and take me to your home and give me food? I am very much indebted to you, and to show my gratitude, I will remain with you." So the bushbuck assented and led the leopard to his home where beans were cooked and put before the leopard to satisfy his hunger. But the leopard refused them, saying that he did not eat beans. So some fowls were killed and cooked and given to him to eat. Every day he was given fowls to eat until none were left and the same thing happened with the goats. So when there was no more flesh for the leopard's food, they cooked some beans for him. Then the leopard again explained how greatly he was indebted to his benefactor, the bushbuck, and that he would like to show his gratitude by staying with him but that he really could not eat beans and asked the bushbuck to give him one of his children. The bushbuck did not like to refuse, so one of his little ones was killed and given to the leopard who ate him. Next day, the leopard asked for and received another child and so on until all had been sacrificed and only the bushbuck and his wife remained. The leopard demanded the wife and the poor bushbuck, not knowing how to get out of it, had to give the leopard his own wife to be eaten. When the leopard again felt hunger, he said to the bushbuck, "Well, now you have been very kind to me and given me all you have but you still remain. I think I will have to eat you, too." But the bushbuck being now really frightened, made off into the forest chased by the leopard. After running for three days, the bushbuck met a buffalo who asked him, "Why are you running so fast with a leopard running after you?" So the whole story was told and the buffalo's advice asked in the matter, to which he answered, "Well I don't think that you can do anything except continue your kindness and give yourself up to the leopard." But the bushbuck ran on again and meeting the elephant the same question was put to the bushbuck and in answer to the story, he received the same advice as the buffalo had given. So with nearly all the animals of the forest until he met the hare who, after listening to the bushbuck's story, offered to act as judge in the case. So when the leopard came up, the hare told him he would like to see how the whole thing had come about from the moment he got caught in the trap. All then repaired to the place where the snare was. "Now," said the hare setting the trap, "will you just show me how you got caught? Of course if you are trapped, I will free you again." So the leopard stepped on the trap and was immediately caught by the leg. "Ah," said the hare, "that is the way it happened, is it?" with which he went off, taking the bushbuck with him, leaving the leopard now to die of hunger. Later, some one came along and finding the leopard in the snare, killed him.

THE HARE AND THE HYAENAS

539 Once upon a time, a hare went to seek work with a lion and agreed to attend to the drying of the meat the lion killed. One day, when the lion was away hunting and the hare was busy attending to his work of drying the meat, some hyaenas came by and seeing the meat asked the hare to give them some, but the hare refused, saying it was not his own but belonged to the lion his master. So the hyaenas just went and took and ate of the meat, and made off. This went on every day and the hare becoming much distressed about it, decided to try and trap the hyaenas, so he dug a game-pit and having put pointed stakes in the bottom, he covered it up with grass. In the afternoon, he went out for the daily supply of firewood, and on his return he was dismayed to find that the lion, his master, had fallen into the game-pit and been killed. After this, he abandoned the pit and thought of another idea to defeat the hyaenas and avenge the death of his master. He got the lion out of the pit and carefully removing the skin, he dried it and stuffed it with grass and fixed up the stuffed body in the forest close by, and attaching one end of a rope about its neck, he carried the other end to the place near by, where he went on with his work of drying meat. Presently the hyaenas came along and as usual asked for meat. The hare this day invited them to come and take what they wanted. Pretending to be friendly, the hare remarked how well one of them would look with a nice piece of rope tied round his neck, like a necklace, and the hyaena's vanity being touched, he allowed the hare to fasten the rope round his neck. Now this was the rope to the other end of which was attached the stuffed lion, and when the next moment, the hare called out that the lion was coming back and the hyaenas started to run away, they found that the lion followed them. Wherever they stopped to get breath, there he was still on their tracks, so they decided to run for a hole they knew where they could hide from the lion. After they had been in the hole sometime, one of them peeped out, but there was the lion waiting at the mouth of the hole. Day by day they got more hungry but every time they peeped out, they always saw the lion waiting for them, and so it happened that they grew weaker and weaker and eventually died of starvation.

THE HARE, THE ELEPHANT, AND THE HIPPOPOTAMUS

The hare challenged the elephant to a tug-of-war, the understanding being that if the elephant pulled the hare over, the hare would pay, but that if he did not succeed in pulling the hare over, then the hare should receive the wager. To this the elephant agreed, and away went the hare to the hippopotamus and made a similar proposal to which the hippo in turn assented. On the day appointed for the contest, the hare handed one end of a long rope to the elephant and arranged with him that he, the hare, should signal a blast on a horn when they were to begin pulling, the second blast to be the signal for the end of the contest. The hare then trotted off with the other end of the rope and found the hippo, with whom he made a similar arrangement. Then, taking up a position midway, he blew on the horn and the elephant and the hippo started pulling against each other, each ignorant of his opponent. Neither could pull the other over, for they were both equally strong. So the hare blew a second blast on his horn, and going to the elephant received the acknowledgment of his defeat and the wager, after which he went to the hippo who was also defeated, and so received his second wager.

The Story of the Dzimwe

Once upon a time there was a woman and she was with child. One day she wanted some meat to eat and asked the Dzimwe to give her some. The Dzimwe agreed to give her some meat if she would give him her child when it was born. To this the woman assented and received the meat. In due course the child was born but the woman thought no more about the Dzimwe until one day she met him and was reminded of her promise. So the woman arranged with Dzimwe to send her child to the garden to gather pumpkins so that he could catch him. The child's name was Kalikalanje which means "he who frys himself in a pan." The Dzimwe went down to the garden, changed himself into a pumpkin, and waited for the boy's coming. Presently Kalikalanje arrived and looking at the pumpkins, said, "I only gather one that dances," so the Dzimwe in the form of a pumpkin started dancing about and the boy ran away calling out, "No! really I don't gather pumpkins that dance." A few days later, the Dzimwe sought out the woman and related how he had been duped, so the woman proposed to tie the Dzimwe up in a bundle of grass in the forest which she would then send her son out to get. Kalikalanje, sent out by his mother for a bundle of grass, came across the bundle containing the Dzimwe, and remarked that he only took bundles of grass that danced. And when the bundle started dancing, the boy ran away, calling out that he did not really take bundles of grass that danced. So the Dzimwe a second time was frustrated. Again he went to the boy's mother and asked her, saying, "You promised me the child, you must make some other plan to deliver the boy into my hands." This time she hit upon the idea of sending the boy to another village to play *njengo* (a kind of game of nine-pins), and told Dzimwe that he would be able to recognise her son as she would shave his head and give him a piece of red cloth to wear. So Kalikalanje went to play *njengo* with the boys in another village, but arriving early, he got them all to shave their heads and tearing up his piece of red cloth, he gave each boy a piece to wear. When the Dzimwe arrived, he was again baffled as he did not know which was the boy he ought to have. Once more he met the woman and explained how her plan had miscarried, so she suggested that she should send her son out hunting in the forest and the Dzimwe could catch him there. So the youth went out hunting and he took his four dogs with him, including his dog, Mawalayenje. As he went through the forest, he suddenly came upon the Dzimwe, so he climbed up a tree. "Ah," said the Dzimwe, "I have got you at last!" and commenced to cut down the tree. Then Kalikalanje called to one of his

539 dogs to attack the Dzimwe and the dog rushed in at him but fell dead, killed by the wind passed from the bowel of the Dzimwe. The same fate fell to two more dogs. Then Kalikalanje called his dog, Mawalanyanje to attack the Dzimwe. Mawalanyanje flew at the Dzimwe, making wind at the same time as his enemy, and was unhurt. He bit and bit at the Dzimwe till he killed him. Then Kalikalanje came down from the tree and got medicine and his three dead dogs were brought to life again, and he was not molested further.

[114] NOTE. This story in only an incomplete form is given by Hind in his *First Yao Reader* and I have therefore thought it worth while repeating it *in extenso*. Miss Werner[1] has referred to Dzimwe but seems very doubtful of the meaning of the word. It occurs only in the story given above, common to both Wayao and Anyanja, and simply refers to a fabulous personality, one of whose attributes was the ability to change into various forms. Scott in his dictionary,[2] mentions a Chinyanja word, *Dzimwe*, an elephant, so called because of its large belly filled with masses of unchewed food.

NALUMBALAPA, THE NIGHT-JAR

One day when the night-jar was strolling along, he met some guinea-fowls and approaching their leader, he said, "I envy you when I see you going along accompanied by many of your people. I should be very glad if you would help me by giving me medicine to make me also a chief among others." So the guinea-fowl said, "That is all right, but you must come at the proper time when I am at home." In the evening, the night-jar went to the guinea-fowl and the guinea-fowl gave him some medicine and told him, "Take this medicine. You must then get some animals' dung and mix the medicine with a basketful of it. Choose a nice site and sprinkle it all over with this. Then build your own hut there. The rules about this medicine are as follows: If any people come to stay with you and do any damage to your crops, don't abuse them; speak gently." "All right," said the night-jar, and went away to follow out the instructions. When this was all done, one evening some one came and clapping hands at the door, called to the owner. The night-jar went outside and found a man with his wife and children. They had come to settle down with him. (He was going to be a chief among men!) So he told them to come in. After a few minutes, others came, and then all night others arrived until the house was full and others camped outside. Within two days, there was a big village. Then the night-jar went back and reported to the guinea-fowl. The guinea-fowl again bade him keep to the rules. Then the people made a big garden for the night-jar and planted cassava and many other things and they were all quite happy. One day, all the people came together and said they were going to make a bigger garden for their chief, the night-jar. The children went too, and played in one of the cassava gardens. One of them dug up some roots and chewed them and the night-jar passing and noticing this, was very cross and began abusing the children and their mothers. When they heard the alarm, everybody stopped hoeing, put their hoes on their shoulders and with their wives and children went away, till no one was left in the village, except the night-jar and his wife. "I don't know what I am going to do. I must run to the guinea-fowl and see if he can put this affair right," said he. He reported to the guinea-fowl all that had happened. Then the guinea-fowl said, "You have broken the rules. It is too late; it is finished and I cannot give you medicine to call them back. It is your own fault." The night-jar said, "I think you can help me. Give me medicine to make me invisible. If you do not, the people may come back and kill me." "For that I will give you medicine," said the guinea-fowl. "Now, after you and your wife rub yourselves with the medicine, as you sit together a man can walk past you and not see you." So they got the medicine and went home and used it. And that is why you cannot see the night-jar now as he sits on the road when you pass.

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[1] British Central Africa, p. 233.

[2] Op. cit., p. 138.

THE STORY OF THE HORNBILL (LIPOMOMBO)

Once upon a time, there was a man named Lipomombo. He lived in a village but would not conform to the customs of the people. This the people did not like. Especially did they take exception to his refusal to attend the last rites for the dead. Once again he was asked to pay homage to the dead and accompany the funeral procession of a fellow villager to the grave, but he refused as usual. Soon after, his own child died, but no one came to offer help in preparing the body or in carrying it to the burial ground. Not knowing what to do, he tied the body up and put it upon his head and so left the house to search for the burial place. "*Ku malande kwa?* Where are the graves?" he asked the first man he met. "I don't know," was the reply. He wandered on, putting the same question: "*Ku malande kwa, kwa, kwa?*" to everyone he met but no one apparently knew. So he wandered on until the body became rotten and ran down his nose and dripped off the end. He has been wandering ever since with the last piece stuck on his nose, always searching for the graveyard and asking "*Ku malande kwa, kwa, kwa?*" and all his descendants do the same.

Moral: Conform to the customs of your race. (Note the beak of the Hornbill and its call.)

THE STORY OF THE YOUNG MAN TESTING THE ADVICE GIVEN TO HIM BY HIS FATHER

There was once an old man and he was dying, so he called his son to him and said, "I am dying, but before I go, there are three things I wish you to beware of doing: Firstly, do not tell your wife your private affairs; secondly, do not make friends with a policeman; thirdly, do not borrow money from a poor man but from a rich man." Having uttered these warnings, the old man died. No sooner was the burial over than the son thought over his father's words and deciding to try and see whether there was wisdom in them, he went along to a poor man he knew and borrowed sixpence and to a rich man and bor-

539 saved a sovereign and thence home. Saying nothing about the money, he left his house the following morning and bought a goat. Waiting in the bush till dark, he killed it and then bound up the carcass in some grass and carried it to his hut. Arrived there, he excitedly told his wife he had killed a man and wanted to bury the corpse which he had brought with him, under the floor of the hut. So the woman brought a hoe and together they dug a hole in the middle of the floor and having deposited the body in it, the earth was filled in and the woman replastered the floor with mud, and made her cooking fire over the spot. "Now," said the young man to himself, "my father told me not to tell my wife any of my private affairs and not to borrow money from a poor man. Both these I have done. One thing remains; I must find a policeman to make friends with." Going out, he met two policemen, so he said to one of them, "I should like to be friends with you, come to my house"; and the policeman agreed and went with the man to his house and a fowl was killed for them to eat. He introduced the policeman to his wife as his friend and she started cooking porridge. When it was ready, she brought it outside to the two men who were sitting on the veranda of the house with water to wash their hands and they commenced eating. Then the man called his wife back, saying the porridge was not well cooked — "It is only fit for dogs!" — and struck his wife a blow. The woman immediately appealed to the policeman to protect her, saying her husband would kill her as he had killed a man, a short time before. So the policeman arrested the man and took him away to the magistrate. The magistrate sent the police back with the man to the village to find the body of the murdered man. Its resting place was pointed out by the woman and after digging, they found the body tied up in the grass. All said, "It is just as the woman stated!" and they began striking the man and made him carry the body back to the magistrate. On the way, they met the poor man, who on seeing his debtor cried out, "Where are you going, where is my sixpence?" "I am going to the magistrate. I am supposed to have murdered a man," he replied. "Where is my sixpence? You will get hanged and I shall be the loser!" yelled the poor man. "Wait a bit, I may not be killed," said the man, "I may be able to pay you back presently." "No you won't, you will be hanged," was the reply and the poor man hit him as he passed. Later, the party met the rich man and the accused called to him, "I am in trouble and don't know when I may be able to repay you your loan"; but the rich man answered, saying, "Never mind about that now. I am sorry you are in trouble." When they came before the magistrate and the man put down his load, it was opened and the body of the goat disclosed. Then the magistrate asked the man what it was all about. So the man related his story, telling the magistrate how he had wanted to test his father's advice, and how it had all proved to be good advice.

Note: The story as given here is doubtless an adaptation of an older story to present day conditions. I have not been able to get any more original form.

About the Greedy Man (Jua Mlume Juakusuchukwa)

Once upon a time, there was a man and he went and set a trap and caught an *mbendu* 539 (genet cat). So he brought it back to his home and singed the fur off and partly roasted it, and then hung it up from the roof inside his hut without telling his wife to cook it. It was in the summer time. One day his wife said, " I am tired of gathering herbs to cook for your relish. What about the animal hanging up there? Shall I not cook it?" The husband replied that not for anything would he have it cooked. " I am going to keep it till we get our new crops in," he said. So the woman said nothing and time passed and the little animal got as dry as a bone. One day when the man and the woman had gone to hoe in their garden, the *mbendu* came to life again and jumping down, found the basket where the woman kept her clothes and beads; opening it, he took them out and dressed up in them. Thus arrayed he went out of the hut and came to the place where some women were pounding grain; so he began to sing and danced to them. His song was:

" *Achakankundu'we kutawa'le mini jose leche leche, mbwi! jukutu! jukutu!* "

" The women (who were) pounding there pounding sticks all they have left! "

and he told the women to sing the chorus " *Nanchalamanda!* " (*Mbwi* is the word used to indicate the sound and action of a short hop on both feet like a bird or some steps in a dance. *Jukutu* similarly has reference to the movements of the buttocks in dancing. *Nanchalamanda* means " very dry," referring to the *mbendu* and the treatment he had suffered.) So they all danced together, but when he judged the people would be going back to the house, he escaped and ran back to the house and putting away the clothes and beads in the basket, he went back to his position hanging from the roof. This went on for several days and many of the boys and girls in the village used to go to the pounding place to see *mbendu* dance. One day the child of the man who had caught the *mbendu* recognized the cloth he was wearing as belonging to his mother and noticed him go back to their house. So he went and told his mother and father who, when they looked into the basket, noticed that the things inside had been disarranged and that the cloth was dirty. So they said they must find out what was going on, and next day, pretending to go to their garden, they hid themselves. Presently *mbendu* came down, put on the cloth and beads and went out of the house to dance as usual. When the man and his wife appeared, he ran away to the house, threw off the cloth and hung himself up to the roof, but he had not quite shrivelled up dry again when they came in and discovered him. When *mbendu* saw that he was found out, he jumped down and ran away, this time quite free into the fields, so the woman reviled her husband for saving up the animal in greedy fashion so long.

Note: When telling these and other stories, there is a regular formula with which the narrator prefaces his discourse. The story-teller begins:

539 "*Lokoto lokoto kasele tu!*"
"Picking up picking up a little basket full!"

to which the listeners exclaim

"*Lukutaa!*"
"Overflows!"

At the completion of each sentence in the story, one of his listeners will exclaim, "Go!" When he has finished his story, he says,

"*Ajokole katole katakamanga pamoto pakamora, umbo chipongil!*"
"Take off the fire, the little mouse lest it be singed, by the head it is very hard, the hair (is) in a lump!"

During the intervals of a long story, one of the listeners may break in and sing some little song, such as the song of the *mbendu* in the story of the greedy man, thus giving the story-teller a rest.

342 **The house and household utensils.** The Yao house does not differ greatly from the Nyanja habitation which I have already described elsewhere.[1] The accompanying figure (Pl. XIV, fig. 15) gives the circular plan of a hut with a veranda partly open and partly enclosed to form a room. The central pole of the hut is indicated, the hearth (H), the position of the sleeping-mats (M), and the place where the water pots are kept (P). The
352 bed may be a bamboo platform supported by forked sticks a foot above the ground (*usanguli*), or a dais of mud, over which is spread the sleeping-mat, *ugono*. (Pl. XIV, fig. 14.) Seats, *chitengu*, are made of logs of wood with conveniently placed branches acting as legs. I have seen a symmetrically carved log with shaped legs all in one piece, which suggested by its form and by the presence of a button on the midline of the under surface that it was made in the imitation of an animal. Plank seats with peg legs are now sometimes seen. Wooden pegs are driven into the wall and serve to hang odd articles upon.

[354] The hearth is simply a shallow depression in the mud floor, around which are placed three large stones to support the cooking pots. Sometimes a canopy is built over the hearth, consisting of four upright poles supporting a platform made of reeds and grass, upon which millet and other seed grains are often stored. From this platform *ligulu* (*tsanja*,
[251] Chin.), the gourd containing the supply of salt is often hung. The seed grain tied up in little bundles is suspended from the *ligulu* where it becomes very dry and smoked, without any ill effect to the next year's crop. (Pl. XIV, fig. 16.) Four pronged branches of trees are often stuck in the ground with a string tied around the prongs, and used as holders for gourds, salt bottles, etc.; this device is called *lipanda* (*phanda*, Chin.). (Pl. XIV, fig. 10.)
415 The smaller utensils include the porridge stirring stick *mtiko* (Yao and Chin.) (Pl. XIV, fig. 12), several wooden spoons *chikosi* (*chipande* or *namalowa*, Chin.), (Pl. XIV, figs. 11, 13), a number of gourds of various shapes and sizes used as ladles and drinking vessels,

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[1] 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 226-228.

and the baskets and pots. A wooden dish *ubisi* may be seen occasionally, but of late years, 415 [17]
this has been generally replaced by enameled articles.

Around the entire hut, or simply enclosing a yard behind it, there is often a fence about 361
five feet high. In the enclosure thus formed, many household duties are performed, such as the pounding and sifting of grain. The grain store *ngokwe* often stands in this yard with the pigeon-loft and possibly a hen-house or goat kraal; these are sometimes found in the open space at the front of the house. If a grain store is built within the hut itself, it is then 343
known as *mbanga*. Near the pigeon-loft will be seen a pole with prongs supporting an old pot with water for the pigeons to drink. In a tree in the bush nearby, there may stand a [231]
beehive, consisting of a bark cylinder. Similar cylinders are sometimes used as pigeon-houses.

The large pots for brewing beer are usually set in the yard or on the back veranda, 415
together with a basket of split bamboo for carrying fowls, *chitelatela* (Yao and Chin.).

Gourds. Gourds are grown in the village for use as vessels of various kinds. Different shapes serve different purposes; names are given them according to use rather than shape, though these more or less coincide. Ladles for water or beer, *msomalo* or *ngao* (*nsomere* or *chiko*, Chin.) are usually long-handled gourds (Pl. XIV, figs. 7, 8, 9). Drinking vessels for beer, etc. *chipande* and a specially large one, *ntumbo* are usually of the shape illustrated in Plate XIV, fig. 1; sometimes they are like fig. 5, but this shape is more commonly used for water. *Lipache*, the type illustrated by fig. 2, is also used for drinking or for holding gruel. Oil flasks, *chisasi* (*tsupa*, Chin.), are usually of the double-bellied type (figs. 4 and 6). Salt bottles, *chitumba* (*chiguru*, Chin.), are similar to oil flasks. Rattles, *sanje*, used at dances etc., are also made from gourds, often from those with tuberosities (fig 3). Other uses for gourds include pipes, snuff-boxes, enema funnels, and resonators for musical instruments.

Pottery. The art of pot-making appears to have been known to the Yao for a very 323
considerable period. There is no history relating to its introduction among them. The art is in the hands of the Yao women. As among all Nyasaland tribes, a particular kind of clay is used and no admixture with any binding substance is made. The pots are simply moulded by hand from base to brim and, without the aid of any wheel or other device, wonderful symmetry is attained.

After drying, the pots are fired by being set on their bases on the ground and a wood fire is made round and above them. They are then sprinkled with an infusion of the *msyompwe* or *ntumbi* tree, a head of millet being used for the purpose, after which the pots are set upon a fire and millet husks are thrown into them and allowed so to be incinerated. These customs, a kind of christening of the pots, " insure their turning out well."

No glaze of any kind is used, but they are sometimes colored red by boiling with a pigment called *ngama*, prepared from a red sediment found in sluggish streams. The preparation of *ngama* is in the hands of men and women who make a trade of it, such as a man called

323 Njuli near Zomba. Sometimes pots are also rubbed all over the outside or in patterns with msanga, a natural graphite.

323 534 Patterns of a simple character, often of the herring bone order, are commonly graved about the neck of the pots with the aid of a stick of bamboo. There is considerable variety in the size and shape of the pots made. As with gourds, the pot takes its name from the use to which it is put and not from the shape or size. All pots have rounded bottoms; none have a flattened base or standard.

The following varieties of pots may be mentioned:

323 415 1. *Lilereko*, large pots for beer-making. These are usually roughly made and seldom have any decoration on them; they stand about two feet high and are wide-mouthed (Pl. XV, figs. 1, 4).

2. *Lusalo* (*mtsuko*, Chin.): water-pots. These are usually well moulded and well finished pots, full bellied with broad base and a certain amount of neck. They are practically always decorated and often colored. They are about twelve inches high and twelve inches across the broadest diameter (Pl. XV, figs. 8, 9, 10).

3. *Chiulugo* (*nthalo*, Chin.): cooking pots used for cooking the flour porridge, *ugali*. These are wide, open-mouthed pots six to ten inches high, with belly and more or less straight sides (Pl. XV, figs. 5, 6, 7). This name also applies to the cooking vessel for medicinal concoctions.

4. *Chijungu* (*mphika*, Chin.): smaller pots of the same type as 3, used for cooking beans, fish, green stuff, and the relish *mboga* (*ndiwo*, Chin.) (Pl. XV, fig. 3).

5. *Mtale* (*nkate*, Chin.): the bath water pot. The smallest pot used for heating water to bathe the husband after sexual intercourse bears the same name. It is found among both the Anyanja and the Wayao (Pl. XV, fig. 2).

6. *Mbale* (Yao and Chin.): the plate, a shallow, wide-open vessel.

Baskets. The basket work of the Yao is all of one type and is done by the men. All 285 baskets are made of plaited strips of bamboo, the free edges of the strips being bound between thicker pieces of the same wood forming the rim, the binding being done with the stem of a creeper. They are made in various shapes and sizes. Some are rendered water-proof and used as beer mugs. The following types of basket are in use:

285 415 1. *Chiselo* (*lichero*, Chin.): a circular, open basket, shallow and wide, six to ten inches in diameter; it is used as a food dish or to measure flour, etc. *Chitunga* (*nsengwa*, Chin.), a rather larger one of the same shape, often decorated with beads is used to carry flour, while a still larger basket called *chipeta* is commonly used by the women for winnowing out the chaff from the partly pounded maize (Pl. XVI, figs. 11, 15).

2. *Lukalala* and *chitundu* (in Chin., both are called *mtanga*): deep baskets usually about as deep as they are broad; the bottom is approximately square, but the rim is circular. *Chitundu* is about six inches high and six inches in diameter; *lukalala* is about a foot in all dimensions. These large baskets are used for carrying any food-stuffs in bulk, e.g. grain and pumpkins (Pl. XVI, fig. 16).

3. *Mtungwi:* this large double basket one half of which fits over the other like a cover, is now very common among the Yao; it was copied from the Swahili *kijamanda.* The body is made in the same way as the other baskets, but each half has a broad rim of wood which is always cut profusely into patterns (Pl. XVI, fig. 13, and Pl. XVII). 285 415 [177]

4. *Chisumbi:* the beer mug, a small hemispherical basket rendered waterproof by smearing with a sticky substance prepared from the pounded stem of the sposa tree or from the root of the upono plant mixed with charcoal (Pl. XVI, fig. 12).

5. *Lisungulo (kupe,* Chin.): the beer strainer made in the shape of *chitunga,* but the strips of bamboo forming the warp and the weft are of different thicknesses, so that spaces are left for the fluid to run through (Pl. XVI, fig. 14).

Mats. In years gone by the Yao made a rough kind of plaited matting of split reeds called *chiponda;* it is not seen today. Another type of mat seldom used today is the *lichika* (*chika,* Chin.), made of a number of reeds of equal length bound together by several rows of interlacing string (Pl. XVI. fig. 7). Reeds are also used to make the upeso (mpasa, Chin.) (Pl. XVI, fig. 10). When dry they are split and fastened out with the smooth surfaces all on one side. A number of reeds so flattened lying side by side are then sewed together with native string, and form a clean, smooth mat for sitting or sleeping. 285

Mats made of plaited strips of sun-dried palm leaf are now in common use, the art of making them, I believe, having been introduced from the coast. Large mats of this kind called *lisambi* are used in the chief's courtyard (Pl. XVI, fig. 9). Smaller ones called mkeka, or by the old people ndanga, made from the leaf of the wild date palm, are used for sleeping (Pl. XVI, fig. 6). Since the advent of the European, mat making has become an important industry, and *lisambi* and mkeka are to be found in every European house.

A still finer kind of mat, circular in plan and stained in patterns, has lately been introduced by the Swahili. Red and black dyes are generally used; the red is either upono,[1] or a stain called mchenule prepared from the bark of a tree called mseche; the black dye is made from the root of a vine, *likwanya* (*chitedze,* Chin.), the itch bean. [386]

The matting made of these strips of palm leaf is in the form of a ribbon from three to six inches wide, according to the fineness of the strips. The ribbon of matting is sewed into the form of a cylinder by plaiting the edges of the ribbon together in a large spiral. This cylinder of matting is then cut down one side and laid flat, and the cut edges finished off with a plaited mat border (Pl. XVI, fig. 8). It will be seen that, owing to the way they are made, these mats are never quite rectangular. The ribbon of matting used for the circular mats is narrower still and sewed round and round in a flat spiral fashion.

Cloth. The Yao in years gone by made a woven cloth, but the art has long since died out, and I have never seen a piece of native-made cloth. I imagine, inasmuch as bark-cloth is still worn by the poorer people, that the native-made woven cloth was only worn by the few, probably the chiefs. The older cloth was undoubtedly bark-cloth, worn, as I 286

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[1] Vide supra, p. 341.

286 have said, to this day, and also appearing as the proper dress in all ceremonies. Clothing nowadays, among the majority, consists of calico of various kinds brought in by traders and further referred to under *Dress*.

287 **Bark-cloth**, *lisonde* (*chisonde*, Chin.) is made by the men. A piece of bark about two feet by one is cut from the living tree; the outside portions are removed and the whole piece, after being well scraped, is soaked in water. When partly softened, it is removed and hammered out with a wooden mallet; the process is repeated till the piece of bark is soft enough to enable it to be wrung in the hands, thus further loosening the fibres. The soaking, hammering, wringing, and pulling are continued till a piece of cloth three by five feet is obtained. This is sun-dried and yields a soft, pliable, and warm material. Several pieces may be sewed together to make a large sheet. Bark-cloth is sometimes stained black by soaking it in a kind of thick mud found on the plains. The mallet consists of a piece of hard wood with serrations on its face, held in a split stick handle; it is called *nkomero*. A log of wood with a flattened surface, called *nkongwe*, plays the part of the anvil, the man who is using the mallet usually sitting on one end of the log.

281 **Skins.** The Yao are unacquainted with the art of tanning. Skins are prepared only by drying, and then softened by hammering with stones. They are not employed as articles of clothing but the larger ones are used to sit upon, the skins of the leopard and the lion being reserved for chiefs. Others are used to make bags to carry flour, for powder pouches, and to cover guns. The blacksmith's bellows are made of goat's skin.

283 **String**, *lulonji* (*chingwe*, Chin.): Two kinds of string are made, one from flax, the other from the inner part of the bark of the baobab tree. Fishing nets are made from the former, game nets from the latter.

326 **Metals and metal working.** The only metal ever obtained from the ore by the Wayao was iron, and it is probable that they learned this from the Anguru and Anyanja. The industry is now nearly dead since the introduction of trade articles. A few blacksmiths still ply their trade, but their work is restricted to the manufacture of knives, spear-heads, and razors. Hoes are no longer made. The hoe blade supplied by traders is in the form of the old native-made article, which had in turn displaced the older hoeing-stick. The blacksmith deals with his mass of metal by hammering it with stones. He provides himself with bellows, a small iron hammer, and a rudimentary kind of tongs. He is called *wachipala*.

324 **Stone.** The only important uses for stones among the Yao are for supporting the cooking pots on the fire, for heating water in some medicinal preparations, and for grinding millet. For this last purpose, a large, flat stone, inclined at an angle, is set up in some convenient spot, often on the veranda, and the grain is ground by means of a smaller stone held in the hands.

412
[252] **The flour pestle and mortar.** Maize flour is prepared by pounding the grain in a big wooden mortar, by means of a wooden pestle, consisting of a pole some five feet long and four inches in diameter with round ends. The mortar consists of a tree trunk about

two feet high and fifteen inches in diameter, hollowed out from above for about two-thirds 412
of its length. Many are made with a kind of base or stand, and some have roughly carved
bosses on the outside; these are called "the breasts," doubtless emblematical of women, [532]
a large part of whose life is spent in preparing flour (Pl. XV, fig. 15).

The fire-stick. Matches are becoming more widespread year by year and soon the 372
knowledge of how to make fire with a fire drill will be lost. The method employed among
the Yao is as follows: a flat surface is cut on a piece of partly rotted wood. In the middle [177]
of this a small depression is made, and on one side of the piece of wood a groove is cut leading from the flat cut surface. The piece of wood is held firmly on the ground by one person with a piece of old scorched cloth or some charred sticks at the base of the groove. A second person, by rolling a stick of hard wood rapidly between his hands with the point directed against the depression on the flat surface in which a little sand has been placed, drills a hole into it. The heat developed is sufficient to cause the powdered rotten wood to start smouldering. This is then turned out on the cloth, which is gently waved in the air till it catches fire (Pl. XV, fig. 16).

Boats. With the exception of a small coracle-like vessel, *likusigwa*, made of rough bark 501
and used for crossing streams, the Yao have no boats. The dug-out canoes which they
use at the present day are made for them by the Anyanja. In addition to the bark boat, [439]
they use a kind of raft made from the pith tree, *bungwa*.

Tobacco. The use of tobacco in some form is universal among the tribes of Nyasa- 276
land and the Yao are no exception. The method of use varies among the different peoples; smoking, chewing, and snuffing are all practiced, but while the Anyanja is essentially a pipe-smoker, the Yao takes snuff, although I think only lately he has also taken up smoking and chewing. A short time ago, a Yao who chewed would have been laughed at. The Anyanja do not chew but take snuff to a certain extent; the Angoni who do not smoke or chew are inveterate snuff-takers; the Atumbuka, Atonga, Asenga, and Ankonde are pipe-smokers and in lesser degree snuff-takers.

Tobacco is called *sona* (*fodia*. Chin.). It is prepared by sun-curing the leaf, which is then rolled up into a twist and allowed to dry further. The common tobacco pipe consists of a clay bowl, often ornamented, and a reed stem; it was formerly called *chilongo*, but is now known as *halio* (Pl. XV, fig. 11). For hemp, *chamba*, the Yao use a water pipe called *ndundu* (*ngunda*, Chin.); this consists of a bamboo water container from which projects a reed stem surmounted by a clay bowl (Pl. XV, fig. 13). The word *ndundu* is also used for a tobacco pipe.

When tobacco is chewed, a little lime paste *ncokola* made from snail shells is put in the mouth "to bring out the flavor," a small clay jar being used to carry the *ncokola*.

Both the Wayao and the Anyanja prepare snuff by grinding the broken-up tobacco leaves with a stone in a potsherd; the powder is then turned out into another sherd and warmed over a fire. A few drops of a preparation called *magadi* is added for flavor. *Magadi* is

276 made by boiling down the solution obtained by straining a decoction of water and the ashes of banana leaves; it contains, of course, some of the inorganic salts from the banana leaves. Without this addition, snuff is said to lack its proper aroma. The Angoni do not warm their snuff, but add a *magadi* made in a similar way from cow dung.

262 146 Food stuffs. According to the general supposition, the native lives on a very monotonous diet, with a great excess of carbohydrates to the exclusion of proteids and fats. While it is certainly true that he does not consider that he has been fed without his "whack" of flour (maize, millet, rice or cassava), still he feels that his meal is a poor one if it does not also include some secondary dish, such as beans, fish, or green vegetables cooked like spinach.

243 The grains chiefly grown and used by the Yao are maize, millet, and a certain amount of rice.

262 Millets (sorghum): *Mapemba*, a tall variety, eight feet high, which is harvested late; *Mapemba ga mesenji*, a hairy variety; *Lisembeleka*, a short kind, five feet high, which matures early; *Mbelwe*, characterized by the fact that the ripe grains will fall when the plant is shaken, and by a rather bitter taste; *Nandonji*, a variety six feet high which ripens quickly; *Kapile*, a shorter variety with a bitter taste but, according to the natives, a pleasant smell. (It makes good beer.)

Eleusine: *Liwanje*, about four feet high with very small grains; *Chindumba*, used for making a very strong beer; *Mwundi*, a variety eight feet high. Cyprus grasses: *Usanje*; [273] there are two varieties, *Kaumbata*, which curls up and is used for making strong beer, and another kind which is not curly.

Maizes: A number of varieties of the species *Zea mays* are grown by the Yao: *Chisowo*, a black-grained variety; *Nampalala*, red maize; *Liwanje*, the seeds of which are large, white, and dented; *Naachinga*, with grains flattened on the free surface; *Kanjelenjele*, a dwarf maize about four feet high.

Rice (*Oryza sativa*): *Mpunga* (generic name *Likuti*), a large-grained variety; *Singama*, with very long grains; *Lingwindimba*, red rice; *Mbangala*, characterized by the strong, not unpleasant odor it gives out when being cooked.

244 262 Cassava: *Chinangwa* is grown everywhere, but the Yao do not prepare flour from it, preferring to eat it raw at odd times. There are several varieties; *Chinangwa cha chiswera*, white cassava; *Chinangwa cha mbweni*, a brown variety; *Lisogo*, a bitter species (*Manihot utilissima*) which produces a very large root; *Chilasi* and *Kam'ampe*, varieties of *Manihot aipi*, the former characterized by its long, tapering leaves, while the latter is a dwarf variety with a big root.

Beans: there are a number of species of beans grown: *Mberemende* (*Cajanus indicus*), *ngunde* (*Vigna catiang*), *mbosso* (*Phaseolus mungo*), *mbaunda*, (*Phaseolus sp.*), *ntambakodo*, (*Phaseolus sp.*), *ngondomalwi*, and a ground bean *njama* (*Voandzeia subterranea*).

Peas, *nsenose* (*Pisum sativum*), are grown in abundance. There are two other varieties; 244
mtesa (groundnuts), and *chimbasira*. 262

Sweet potatoes: *mbatata* (*Ipomoea batatas*), of which the natives are very fond; they distinguish a red and a white variety, *mbatata* [illegible] and *mbatata* [illegible].

The tuber-like root of a bush called *ngumbu* is also eaten, likewise the young under- 262
ground shoots of a palm tree. The leaves of the sweet potato and the leaves of many wild 222
growing plants are collected by the women and cooked like spinach; the flowers of pumpkins are used in a similar way. Of fruits eaten, the banana, *ligombo*, takes first place. A very large number of species of *Eumusa* are grown, including *makumbuka*, *mbingo*, *mkaki*, *masiri nangwaje*, *kabata* a dwarf banana, *lisiguwa* a wild banana, and *mlonga*, the plantain. The paw-paw is found all over the district. There are several varieties of pumpkin, *lyungu*, including *mkonda*, *chindondoli*, and a very large species called *mtwe wa ngwena*, "the crocodile's head." Varieties of cucumbers include *lingaka* and *kalitungula*.

A large number of wild fruits are eaten, among them figs, *kuyuju* (*Ficus*), *masuku* (*Uapaca*), *chitili* and *liungo*, the fruits of two species of *Landolphia*, *matonga* or Kaffir oranges (a species of *Strychnos*), *chikunda*, the fruits of *Hyphaene* (palms), *makwakwa* (*Myrianthus*) a wild tree belonging to the mulberry family, and others, *mbuzu*, *makangandembe*, *mkondowako*, *chingulungulu*, *chindopolya*, *malende*, *likwenda*, etc. The seeds from the heads of bulrushes (*Typha*) are mashed up and eaten.

All fish are eaten except the *ngonga*, which always causes urticaria. 262

The flesh of all the antelopes, of oxen, sheep and goats is eaten greedily; only bushbuck 753
is avoided by some people as it is said to cause a skin eruption. Elephant is shunned by many on account of its rough skin, also rhinoceros because of the ulcers which it often has on its body, and hippopotamus on account of the marks on its back which are thought to be akin to leprosy. People eating the flesh of these animals are supposed often to sicken with leprosy, the pachydermatous skin, the ulceration or anaesthetic depigmented patches
of that disease being reproduced, as the case may be. Few will eat pig or warthog on account 262
of the digging habits of these animals. It is thought they may sometimes grub up bodies
from graves. These flesh taboos may be due to Mohammedan influence. The lion, hyaena, [177]
and fox no one would touch, as they are supposed to be connected with *masoka*,[1] but the heart of the lion might be eaten to acquire courage. Few will touch leopard flesh, but Kasongo's descendants do so. All will eat of the flesh of the serval cat but very few of
the common wild cat. The rock rabbit, *ngangawira* (*mbira*, Chin.), is refused by most [834]
Yao as it is a "beast without shame," having no tail to hide what should in decency be hid. Very few will partake of the baboon, but monkey is acceptable to many. A few reject porcupine, supposing they will break out in spots, while the zebra may cause stripes, and none will touch the skunk. No one eats *sonje*, a mouse that is believed to die if it crosses a path. All kinds of rats are eaten, but the shrew-rat and cane-rat only by boys. Snakes

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[1] Vide supra, p. [illegible].

262 no one will touch. With the exception of carrion birds such as the crow and the hawk, most birds are considered fit to eat. The hornbill is not eaten, as it is supposed to carry part [825] of a corpse on its nose.[1] Fowls form a regular article of diet, but some taboos in this connection are mentioned elsewhere.

Eggs are eaten only by children and old people; that is, by those outside the child propagating age. Milk is never consumed in any form. They say, "What a disgusting habit, to suck the juice of an animal while it is still alive!"

[843] Pregnant women will not eat certain things lest the child be born with some deformity, such as the snout of a pig, or the white stripes of a zebra.

532 *Art and decoration.* Sculpture can hardly be said to be an art known to the Yao. The only piece of stone work I have ever seen was a granite boulder, on the surface of which cup-holes had been made for the game of *Bao* (Pl. IV, fig. 4).

Of late years, individuals here and there have begun carving wooden figures of men and animals. The Yao, of course, make no idols. It is uncertain exactly how long it is since any of these people started producing wooden figures. I should think that this art has sprung up within the past twelve or thirteen years, that is to say, since there has been a market for them among European residents. In the first place only natives and some of the common animals, the eland and leopard, were represented; since then, many animals and Europeans have been copied. The native is extraordinarily clever in reproducing characteristic features in dress, etc., so that a Portuguese is easily distinguished from an Englishman. The little models in ivory of animals and native household objects, made by the Swahili people on Lake Nyasa, have never been copied by the Yao. Neither do they make clay images of men and cattle as do the Zulu-descended Angoni and cattle-keeping Wankonde. No native would allow any wooden figure to remain in his house for [777] fear of ill luck; the women especially would look askance at them, fearing some misfortune in their next pregnancy. Little wooden figures of birds, however, are sometimes seen affixed to the point of the hut roof.

[177] The making of carved figures, then, is of recent introduction, or rather is a recent event in the evolution of the Yao, as they were not taught but self-inspired in the work.

The ability to make representations of objects by drawing appears in the same way to originate spontaneously here and there as a sport. Natives with a talent for drawing are found among all the tribes, and among the Yao, it is said, there have always been some who have been able to draw. Naturally enough, their reproductions are made on the walls of their houses, and their subjects are generally animals of the forest, sometimes men and houses, or some other object of particular interest[2] (Pl. VIII, fig. 1). I also give sketches of some other drawings I have noted (Pl. XVIII); the line figure of a man at Makanjila's

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[1] Vide supra, p. 237.

[2] Cf. A. Werner, 'A Native Painting from Nyasaland,' (Jour. Afric. Soc., London 1909, vol. 8, no. 30, p. 180-182).

(fig. 14), and an antelope from Mpoma's in Zomba district (fig. 11), also two birds at Pikasi's which I should think represent a fowl and a crow (figs. 12, 13). It is interesting to compare these attempts which show a natural feeling for shape, with others, the work of an Angoni youth in touch with a European mission station, who depicts the missionary, his donkey, his dog, and a chair but with little or no sense of form. Note the dots above the animals' backs which represent their feet seen from the other side (Pl. XVIII, figs. 15–18). 532

The models of animals and other objects made in relief on the ground at *Lupanda*, and of animals in grass and bamboo at *Chiputu*, are referred to under *Initiation Ceremonies*.

Decoration is limited to the making of patterns of geometric design on many household articles. The graving of pots is mentioned under *Pottery*: gourd vessels sometimes have lines and triangles cut on the surface; ivory knife handles may have concentric circles graven on them, the same being true of ivory nose-rings and necklaces. Spear handles and walking sticks, snuff-boxes, pipes, the head-rest and the necks of musical instruments too, are commonly engraved with designs. The wooden rim of the *nsengwa* basket is always so treated. A series of these designs from baskets is reproduced (Pl. XVII). Occasionally geometric patterns are painted on the walls of huts. The best example I have seen is shown in the photograph which represents a Mohammedan mosque in South Nyasa district. This, I think, gives the key to the origin of these geometric patterns, namely, Swahili influence among the Yao (Pl. IV, fig. 1). 531

Personal ornamentation. The skin color admired most among the Yao is a rich brown and is likened to the color of the millipede, *likongolo*. A very black skin is not liked and a man is said to be "as black as a crow." Very light colored skins are equally distasteful to some and considered to resemble the color of a roasted crab. The hair should be jet black. Young men anoint their heads with a decoction of *nsendenga* pods in boiling oil to make the hair black and lustrous. When the hair is turning white, a substance made of the charred roots of a plant called *chisinje* is put on to make it black. 832 826 302

Natives recognize that some among them have red hairs on their heads or in their beards, and such a man is called *matoowa*, *matoowa* being the name of a caterpillar which lives on the *mtowa* tree and is covered with long red hairs. 832 826

The old men used to wear wigs, *chisindi*, made of knotted string blackened and oiled to look like hair; the women wore one called *chiliwa*. These were used to disguise greyness or baldness.

The women sometimes let the hair grow long and then thread beads on wisps of it. This fashion is called *chitunga*. The large red bead, *chilulube*, is now used for the purpose. This fashion was adopted by the old women and those in charge of the *Chiputu* ceremony. Strings of beads threaded on the hair falling down round the head are called *lilombola* or *malombola* (plur.). Women sometimes thread beads on the crest of hair called *ncheche*. Ordinarily the hair is periodically shaved or sometimes cut with a knife, but the process is painful and therefore unpopular.

302 Shaving is a rite practised in mourning.[1] Some old men and women, especially medicine men, make a practice of never cutting the hair and never washing it (Pl. VII, fig. 2). One [158] occasionally sees lunatics with very long hair in the villages.

The Yao do not follow the Angoni practice of tying up into tags the hair which has been allowed to grow long with palm leaf string, but they sometimes tie up a single wisp and make it up with medicine; this is called *lukombi* or *ajombi* (plur.).

The scalp may be shaved in various fashions. Among men, it is quite common to trim the hair on the forehead, *ku-ojilila*; they must not, however, trim the hair behind (Pl. XVIII, fig. 2). Women, on the contrary, trim both in front and back; a man doing so would be laughed at. A woman for the ceremony of *Litiwo* shaves the front hair a little higher still, but she must be careful not to do so at other times, otherwise she would make herself a laughing stock (Pl. XVIII, fig. 10). The hair is sometimes shaved on either side of the midline in front, in imitation of temporal baldness; both baldness and this method of shaving are called *msesesse* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 4). Or again, among old Yao men the crown is shaved; this and natural baldness are called *lukasi* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 5). It is a fashion much affected by old men and great annoyance is caused them by any young upstart who does the same. Other methods include for men *mpila*, "a rat's path," an antero-posterior median line shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 9); *tupelengandinja*, two shaved lines made from back to front on either side of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 3); for men and women, *lipandalisala*, "the garden is (dead) overgrown", one lateral half of the head shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 7); for men, *nchuche* a crest of hair left along the mid-line, both sides of the head being shaved (Pl. XVIII, fig. 8); *mwesi* (*chilemba cha mwesi*), "the moon," a crescent shaped area shaved on one or both sides of the head (Pl. XVIII, fig. 6).

The eyebrows and eyelashes are always left to grow normally among the Yao.

The Yao man used to take great pride in his beard; it was the object of a good deal of washing and combing. It grew to considerable length and was not cut or trimmed, but the hair growing down low over the throat was shaved, as was also the hair immediately below the mouth on the under lip and the moustache, as it was thought to get in the way when drinking. The whiskers were allowed to grow like the beard.

[832] Hair on the chin or upper lip of a woman is rarely seen and on account of its rarity is [936] much prized. Such hairs have a monetary value for making medicines, a single hair being sold for eight yards of calico or two shillings. Body hair is considered to be a sign of strength; on the chest, it is known as *changalamu* (*ku-changalama*, to be strong). Body hair includ- [114] ing hair on the back is by no means so rare as has been supposed. Sir H. H. Johnston says that he has never seen it,[2] a statement which shows lack of observation. The hair on the forearms and thighs is called *chapo* or *chachembe*; Hetherwick translates this word,[3] I think wrongly, as hair on the body. Body hair is never removed in any way. A man named Katumbini ("the little vulture") of Ulumba had a very large amount of body hair; he was likened to a baboon and was a source of much interest to the children who saw him.

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[1] Vide supra, p. 264.

[2] British Central Africa, op. cit., p. 380.

[3] Op. cit., p. 111.

The hair of the axilla is always removed in men and women, usually by shaving but sometimes in the case of women it is dealt with as in the case of the pubic hair. A man with unshaven axillae would be laughed at and referred to as "a man carrying a fowl in his armpit." The axillary hairs are called *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*, the armpit). 302

The pubic hair, *[illegible]*, is removed by both men and women; in men by shaving, in women sometimes by shaving, but preferably by plucking out after the application of a medicine called *[illegible]* (*[illegible]*, to pluck a fowl), which renders the operation easy. It is prepared from the juice which exudes from the bruised bark of the *[illegible]* tree. There is a woman at Malemya's who has never grown any axillary or pubic hair; she is called "the rogue elephant"; a rogue elephant has no tusks. It may be noted in passing that the woman has borne children. [124]

A few men have the hair round the anus shaved. Such a service can only be asked of a man's closest intimate, such as a brother-in-law. [607]

I have dealt with tattooing among the Yao in an article, as yet unpublished, on tattooing among the natives of Nyasaland.

The teeth among the Yao proper are never mutilated in any way, though the Ama-[illegible] go in for small file marks at the cutting edges of the incisors. 304

The old Yao women, of whom some may still be seen, used to pierce the upper lip and wear a circular disc of wood often two inches in diameter in the hole; this is called *[illegible]* (Pl. VII, fig. 4). The disc was often made of lead and sometimes of ivory. The lead might be hollowed out on the upper surface; it was then called *[illegible] lua utuli*. The disc caused a considerable projection of the upper lip which was much admired. A man, on the other hand, with protruding lips would be nicknamed "the warthog," *[illegible]*, and considered ill favoured. 304 301 [632]

This *[illegible]* fashion has gone out and of later years the *chipini* or disc worn in the left ala of the nose has become more and more fashionable (Pl. II, fig. 2). Originally the *chipini* consisted of a small disc of lead not larger than a three-penny piece, which lay on the outer surface of the ala, held in place by a stem, *[illegible]*, which pierced the ala and passed into the nostril. Now the fashion is to wear a very large disc, often an inch in diameter, which itself occupies a hole in the substance of the ala of the nose; it may be flat-topped and called *chipini cha [illegible]* ("mushroom"), or the upper surface may often be concave, in which case it is called *chipini cha utuli* (*lituli*, a grain mortar). These disks are made of lead and are sometimes called *[illegible]*, a recent word and doubtless a corruption of "lead." Others are made of ivory, which may bear some geometric pattern on the exposed surface. A *chipini* used to cost a fowl.

Among Yao men and women, the lobule of the ear is often pierced but nothing is worn in the hole except possibly a stalk of grass.

Combs for use and for ornament are worn in the hair by both men and women. The ordinary comb without decoration is called *[illegible]*; it is made of a number of pieces 301

301 of bamboo fastened together at one end on the flat side by binding with string, the free ends being sharpened to form the teeth of the comb. If the fastened end is ornamented with beads sewed on in patterns, the comb is called *lisanulo* (*ku-sanula*, to comb). *Lisanulo lia* [824] *chingambata* from *ku-ngambata*, to be sticky, is the name of a small comb worn purely for ornament. On either side of the base of this comb, pieces of wood variously shaped are glued with the sticky juice from the root of the *chingambata* tree. In this way, a sort of inlay is produced. Pieces of tin cans are sometimes substituted for wood. Women occasionally wear in their hair the small *chisendo* knife used for tattooing and shaving.

302 The native takes readily to perfumes of European introduction, but previously he was [177] not an entire stranger to the use of such essences. *Mbobo*, the bulbous root of a kind of grass which grows near water, contains some aromatic principle which has a pleasant odor. The stem is bent around and fixed into the bulb; this is then covered with beads and slung around the neck. *Mkungusa*, the Mlanje cedar, is also used, as well as the fruit of a shrub called *chiungwe*. These substances are scraped into the castor oil used for anointing, and give it a pleasant odor.

No pigments are used on the body. As a sign of great rejoicing, the head and face and perhaps the whole body are covered with ashes, but the natives do not even paint the face with flour on ceremonial occasions.

301 Bands of beadwork are worn around the head, either as a simple band or a band finished off with a bunch in one spot, or with a tassel. Finger rings are worn made of ivory, eland hoof and horn, lead, and iron wire. There is also a great variety of bracelets and anklets, a list of which is given below.

Chipembe: made of plaited grass, worn chiefly by little girls and women who cannot afford more expensive bracelets. As many as half a dozen may be worn on the wrist.

Likongolo (pl. *makongolo*): single circles of solid brass, one half to three quarters of an inch in diameter, worn by women usually as anklets, one or two on each limb. They may still be seen on some of the old women; but as they cause much discomfort, they have gone out of fashion. A man used to be very proud to see his wife adorned with so much wealth and she was content to be so hobbled by her vanity. The hammering up and pulling open of the *likongolo* circle in order to remove it cost a fowl.

Chikungwa: a brass bracelet of small calibre; *ikungwa* (pl.) signifies a spiral cylinder made from the same thick brass wire covering the entire forearm.

Likwinjili: like *chikungwa* of thin brass or iron wire, worn on arms and ankles.

Ching'anda: a bracelet of fine brass wire wound round a circular core. All the brass comes from the coast.

Likosa: a large ivory bracelet worn by men and women.

[237] *Ukanga:* ("stiff tail hairs of an animal"), the bracelet made of the tail hairs of the elephant or the gnu.

Lichaka: the bracelet made from elephant hoof.

Chipiligo: (*ku-piliga*, to roll round), a bracelet made of beads wound on a bark-cloth core. 301

Chipo: the same, but the beads cover a double core so that the bracelet is wider.

Masiku: a circular hollow cylinder of beadwork which lies flat as a bracelet.

Necklaces are much prized by the women. All the children, too, if possible, are provided with some kind or another, even though it be only a piece of string. They are generally made of beads; charms and their ornamental imitations are also worn as necklaces. Some names refer to the pattern of the beadwork, others refer to the length or fashion of the necklace.

Chikupa is a necklace which hangs down in front to the level of the breasts; it does not go under the arms, as Hetherwick states.[1] It consists of three, four, or five strings of beads in rows, arranged in a pattern.

Angugeje: hangs down as far as the ankles. The word *Angugeje* means " chase me! "

Chingongo is made of a single string of beads, but hangs as low as *chikupa*. *Chikupa* is of more than one string and various colored beads enter into its composition, often in *litmuale* pattern.

Chiputo: consists of a single string of beads of one color tied tightly round the neck without tassel or bunch.

Chikanawaka is worn like *chingongo*, but beads of more than one color are used.

Chikwenga resembles *chikupa*, only more strings of beads are used.

Mapande: a solid cord of bark cloth covered with beads of one color, either dark blue or white, worn round the neck crossing on the chest and under the armpits; the cords are as thick as the finger. These are worn especially by girls after *Chiputu*.

Chimasande: a cord of beads as in *mapande*, but worn round the neck only. The necklace consists of perhaps six strings of beads, the first of which is worn close to the neck, while each succeeding string hangs lower and more loosely.

Chigoti or chikolija: made of three plaited strands of beads, generally white.

Nkokolika: a necklace with a tassel, usually consisting of two large red beads.

Mlale (" a striped snake "): made of four strings of beads, each row being of one color.

Mchila wakoswe (" the rat's tail "): like *mlale* consisting of two, three or four strings of beads.

Chuma cha masiku (*masiku*, " bag "): a hollow cylinder of bead work usually of blue and white, worn as a necklace. *Chuma* is the Chiyao word for beads; in Chinyanja, it means wealth.

Litmuale is a word referring to the pattern of the beadwork, so called from the resemblance to the eyes of the cane-rat; in *litmuale*, white beads are arranged in rosettes round a series of larger black beads in a band. [832]

Most women and many children wear beads round the waist. They are supposed to be very attractive to men. The prostitute wears more than anyone else, for the same reason [548]

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[1] Op. cit., p. 117.

30[54] that she is tattooed more profusely on the buttocks and legs. The circlet of beads was formerly made like suspenda with a bark-cloth core, called [illegible] or [illegible] (*ku-[illegible]*, to slip off), referring to the [illegible] being slipped off over the legs. The fashion now is to wear single strings of beads; each string is of one color but all the strings are different and perhaps number a dozen or more.

Lipanda: a bead belt three-inches wide, worn by Yao women near Lake Nyasa. A bead apron, *[illegible]*, is also worn by them but not near Zomba (Pl. VI, fig. 2).

[783] A woman removes her beads when she is "unclean," that is: (*a*) during the menstrual period, (*b*) during the period of mourning for a near relative when coitus is forbidden, (*c*) before the birth of a child and afterwards until such time as she may resume intercourse with her husband.

[772] A large variety of beads has long been used by the Yao. There are some rarely seen now which were much prized in years gone by, while others are of quite recent introduction. There is no evidence that they themselves made beads and there are few which are probably not of European manufacture.

291 Clothing. The Yao used bark-cloth before the introduction of woven materials. The older people may still be seen in it and it is used in most of the ceremonies. At one time, they also used to weave a cloth called *likamambo* from a native cotton plant. This has been given up since the introduction of imported materials.

For the method of wearing cloth, see Pl. II, fig. 2. The very poorest people wear only a strip of calico round the pudenda, held in position by a string round the waist hanging long behind and in front; this is called *nsheto*. Yao women, when menstruating, wear

[841] under this a little piece of cloth called *likundi*; it is only worn at this time and not always as in certain other tribes.

721 Warfare. Fighting has naturally played a large part in the life of the Yao as among other African tribes, but at no time were these people a trained fighting race. Warfare was of a desultory character consisting mostly of raids by one feudal chief upon another. A party of men belonging to a chief at enmity with another, meeting some of his followers would challenge them, "*Akanda*, who are you for?" The name of the rival chief in answer was the sign for battle to begin. A false answer would never be given to gain an advantage.

726 When about to throw a spear, the thrower calls to his adversary.

The Yao have possessed guns for a long time. Going out to fight, the Yao used to

[771] leap from one foot to the other, and spin their guns around in their hands. They made their own stocks for the rifles. They also used to make a small, cast-iron cannon about three feet long, called *kambula*, "a little nose." It was carried in the arms and was touched off by a torch. Drums called *ngoje* were taken into battle. There is an old war drum

[534] at Malemya's village, taken in 1866 by the old Malemya from a Mang'anja chief called Mkubambo who lived near Lake Chiuta. Since then, this drum has always gone into battle with Malemya. Around it his men would dance and anyone who had killed a man in battle would run up to it and spit upon it in salutation.

Both before and after the introduction of guns, the Yao used spears, *lipanga*, and bows, *ukunje*. The spear is a five foot long throwing spear with metal head and wooden shaft. No shield was used. Bows and arrows are made from the wood of the *tesa* or *pimbinyolo* tree. The string is made of tendon. A double-bellied bow called *ukunje wa mbumo* was sometimes used, but, I believe, originally came from the Anyanja. The arrows, *mpamba*, have a metal arrow-head, and were often poisoned with *kombe*. 411

Hunting. The same weapons are used in hunting: the gun, the spear, and the bow and arrow. Smaller bows and arrows made with bamboo or reed shaft are also employed for shooting birds; one of the arrows has a blunt wooden head and serves to stun the bird. 224 411

From the Anyanja, the Yao learned the use of a harpoon for spearing the hippopotamus. The harpoon is a heavy spear-head of iron about eighteen inches long, attached to a rope and float. From the Anyanja, also, was learned the use of the falling block with spear for killing hippo. [177]

Elephants are caught in staked pits, and the larger antelopes are similarly trapped in pits with the sides sloping inwards towards the bottom, so that as the animal falls lower and lower with expiration, it is eventually suffocated. 224

Small buck are driven by dogs into nets set for long distances in the forest, and then speared or shot. [231] Traps are also set for these smaller antelope and for many other small animals, rodents, etc. Birds are shot or trapped. Bird-lime is also employed. It is prepared from the juices of a number of trees by pounding the vegetable matter in water; the sticky mass so made is applied to sticks or poles. The sticks are placed near drinking places so that the birds alighting to take water become entangled. The poles are affixed to trees so that they appear to be the topmost boughs; this the native does, recognising the common habit of birds to sit on the very top of trees. The strength of the bird-lime is made according to the size of the bird he wishes to catch. 223

Fishing. I am not sure how far the Yao is a natural fisherman. Not long ago he used only a many-pronged spear to catch his fish. Since then, he has acquired from the Anyanja the knowledge of making fish-traps and nets, and of using the fish poison. 226 When the Yao came to live and intermarry among the Anyanja, there was one practice of the latter which they would not adopt and which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. A Mang'anja man coming home after fishing always used to prepare the fish and, leaving some ready to cook, he cooked others for his wife, bringing her water at the same time to wash her hands. After eating her own fish, she cooked the rest for her husband. A Yao would never cook for his wife. [578 563]

Traps. The following is a list of some of the traps I have found in use among the Yao. The sketches will serve to explain their mechanism better than a lengthy description. Some are very ingeniously made, and most recall similar traps made in other parts of the world. 224

1. *Lukanji lua litwala*, a trap for the cane-rat (Pl. XIX, fig. 1).
2. *Lukanji lua mkindi*, a trap for sharp-toothed gnawing animals, so called from

224 *mbindi*, a joint (of bamboo) which slides down the string next to the noose so that the captured animal cannot bite or gnaw through the string (Pl. IV, fig. 3; Pl. XIX, fig. 2).

3. *Lukonji lua malende* or *chiluswe*, a trap for water-rats (Pl. XX, fig. 7).

4. *Lukonji lua nguale*, a trap for the partridge (Pl. XX, fig. 3).

223 5. *Chijumba cha ijuni*, " the house for birds," also used to trap small animals (Pl. XX, fig. 2).

6. *Lukonji lua lukosi*, a trap for the neck (of guinea fowl) (Pl. XX, fig. 4).

7. *Lukonji lua chilivata*, a trap for the tread (of the guineafowl); *ku-livata:* to put the foot down, to tread. The string square is about 8 × 4 inches (Pl. XXI, fig. 8).

8. *Liwuno*, a trap made of split bamboo. A bird going to pick up the grain is caught by the head when the trap is released by the string which the trapper pulls (Pl. XXI, fig. 3).

9. *Luwu lua ijuni* or *nyuu*, a bird-trap made of netting on a hinged frame-work, operated by a string (Pl. XXI, fig. 4).

[224] 10. *Liliwa*, a falling stone trap for mice. Rats are said to pull off the trap with their tails and are never caught (Pl. XXI, fig. 1).

10a. The same trap set for catching birds (Pl. XXI, fig. 2).

11. *Malelepa:* (*lelele* = hanging loose), a noose for small birds, set on trees (Pl. XX, fig. 1).

[674] 12. Fowl thieves use a very simple contrivance consisting of two grains of maize threaded on one end of a piece of string some six inches long, at the other end of which is attached a leaf folded up into the form of a cone. The fowl, enticed by the maize, swallows the two grains and the attached string, so that the cone is drawn over its head; it is then helpless and is easily picked up by the thief, who has only to pull on the string to remove the leaf.

224 13. *Chigwenombe*, a hollow cylinder of wood with noose activated by a wooden spring, for catching rats (Pl. XXI, fig. 5).

14. *Chipoto*, a similar trap made of bark, for mice.

15. *Lilesa:* a plaited bamboo cone into which a rat forces its head to get at the bait, but finds, when it tries to withdraw, that it is caught by sharpened pieces of bamboo projecting backwards into the cone (Pl. XX, fig. 6).

227 16. *Mkungwi*, a fish-trap of the same design, from the Anyanja (Pl. XX, fig. 5).

[177] 17. *Mcipu*, a fish-trap on the lobster-pot principle, often set in gaps in a fence built across a stream, copied from the Anyanja trap called *mono* (Pl. XXI, fig. 7).

18. *Njisi*, also I think from the Anyanja, consists of a long basket-work, extinguisher-like arrangement which is clapped down over a swarm of small fish; the hand is introduced through an aperture in one side and the fish removed (Pl. XXI, fig. 6).

Amusements. Among the natives of east central Africa, the chief form of amusement, apart from dancing, might be said to be sitting and chatting; it is interesting to note that there is a word to express "sitting up all night talking." Often the younger members of the community will gather about one of the older men and listen to his stories of travel or fighting in the old days, and some men gain quite a reputation as raconteurs. Or again riddle asking is indulged in to pass the time. Women and girls do not assist at these sittings. 521

Among the Yao youth, wrestling, *ku-lingana* (from *ku-linga*, to try), is practiced with a fixed grip and no leg-work; the victor always accentuates his victory by hitting the man who is down, and pummelling his face with his fist or a stone. 526

A ball game, played originally with a ball of native rubber from which it derives its name, *mpila*, is a great favorite among boys. A dozen or more are divided into sides but all mixed up together. The ball is then thrown into the air to a member of the same side, any of the opposite side jumping into the air to try and catch it, accompanied by the clapping of hands to time.

"Hide-and-seek," *chijuwajuwa*, and "touch," *chao* or *chaolele* (*chipiasi*, Chin.), are played by boys.

Chinusya: toward the end of the ball game, when it is decided to finish, each boy as he catches the ball puts it to his nose to smell (*ku-nusya*, to smell). He is then "out." At the end of a game of "touch" played in the water, when one touches another, he jumps out of the water, puts his cloth up to his nose "to smell," and is then "out." His cloth may be thrown to him to "smell" while still in the water, after which he gets out without hurry. The object is not to be the last "in." I am unable to explain this custom.

Knuckle-bones is played by girls, *ndodo*, from "*do!*" the exclamation made when catching anything. 524

Mchombwa: the Board and Counter game is played in nearly every Yao village. Dr. Sanderson [1] has given a very complete account of a number of the games played by the several tribes in Nyasaland and I need add nothing to his explanation of the methods of playing.

Similar games are widespread throughout Africa and are well known on the West Coast under the name *mancala*. The several games are played, either simply with holes in the ground and small stones, or with a board and a kind of seed procured from Zanzibar. The board is called *mchombwa* and the pebbles or seeds or other convenient "counters" *njombwa*. Dr. Sanderson uses this word as the name of one of the games. The Angoni call the counters *mombe*. The holes in the board or in the ground (Pl. XXII, fig. 11) are called *iputo* (sing. *chiputo*) from *ku-puta*, to strike, beat, or put down with a thud, to "plank down," and refers to the way the counters are "planked down" in the holes on the board when playing. The large container at the end of the board is simply to hold the counters out of play and is called *nyumba*, "the house," or *lisimbo*, "the hole." The counters are [171]

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[1] Meredith G. Sanderson, 'Native games of Central Africa,' (Journ. Anth. Inst., 1913, vol. 43, p. 726–736).

524 called *homo*; *makome* or *namkome*, the words given by Dr. Sanderson, are not known to the Yao in this district. There is a simple game played among the Anyanja children and therefore called *chiana* (childish or for children), but the common game played is more difficult as shown by Dr. Sanderson. *Mchombwe* is being partly displaced by a Swahili variety [177] called *bau*, or often by the Yao, *ubau* (Pl. IV, fig. 4). I may here also point out that the words *msuwa* and *nsolo*, which Dr. Sanderson uses for the Manyanja and Angoni varieties of the game, are often replaced by *mfwaa* and *tore*.

857 Yao children play at keeping house in little grass structures, made near the village or in the fields, while their parents work. Children who can only toddle may be seen practicing dancing the steps of their elders. The boys play with miniature bows and arrows made of a kind of grass, *sewe*, and make a toy dart-tube, *uti* (Pl. XXII, fig. 5). Little dug-out canoes eighteen inches long are made for them to sail in pools.

857 Among the lads in a village, games of fighting are much indulged in; two sides are opposed and their weapons are of various kinds. Sometimes each is armed with a length of 526 bamboo, into the hollow end of which sand and pebbles are put, representing powder and shot. This end of the bamboo is then rapidly swung in the direction of the "enemy" and will discharge the sand and pebbles into the face of the opponent. This is called *uti ja msanga* ("gun for sand"). The boys are sometimes armed with maize cobs for throwing at each other.

Chinene is another form of fighting. Armed with a collection of small stones, each flicks his stone at the enemy with very good aim, using the fore-finger of the right hand to propel the stone, the index of the left hand acting as trigger and the left thumb as the spring. The name comes from *ne!* the sound of the whizzing stone as it goes through the air.

In a pool opposing sides fight with rudimentary syringes made of bamboo, driving streams of water into each other's faces. This is called *ipierere*, from the sound of the stream of water, or *uti ja mesi* ("gun for water"). In the water they also play *chitwinyichiqya*, (*ku-twinyichiqya*, to press down). Boys are ranged on two sides; each tries to "collar" one of the opposing side and put him down into the water, holding him down between his legs. An old water trick is for a boy to go down to the bottom and there squat with his face turned upwards, the mouth stretched wide open by the fingers; viewed from the surface the face looked flat and very grotesque. There is also diving for cassava, *chitiwilila* (*ku-tiwilila*, to dive for).

A kind of skipping, called *chiwewe*, from *we! we!* the sound of the rope as it goes round in the air, is a great favorite. A man with a heavy rope about fifteen feet long, with a bundle of grass at the free end enclosing a lump of heavy wood or stone, swings it round and round his head. The faster it goes, the higher it will fly out, while the boys in turn run in and jump over it. Sometimes a boy is caught by the rope and gets a nasty blow, occasionally resulting in a broken limb.

Taking advantage of the natural inquisitiveness of youth, a favorite trick for making 857
money is for a man to appear in a village making pretence of having a peep-show, some- 673
thing contained in a covered basket or in a cloth. On payment of some small amount, the 543
youth is allowed to peep in, maybe only to see a dead mouse; finding he had been "done," he of course bursts out laughing and, anxious that all his companions should also be "done," he does not "give it away" and so the peep-show man makes quite a good living.

Yao girls play with dolls of two kinds, *lilele*, made from little gourd-like fruits called 857
litonga, and others called *mwanache*, "a child," made from maize cobs. These dolls they 524
carry about on their backs as mothers do their children. *Lilele* is made of three of these little spherical fruits glued together with beeswax; on the one which represents the head, seed, red and blue, of the *ulanguipe* tree are cemented in rows to represent hair, and often beads, as in the *nchacho* method of hair-dressing. One sees similar dolls made for the children of other tribes. Thus, among Mombera's Angoni, a doll called *mwana*, "a child," is made in a dumb-bell form of two small spherical gourds joined by a bundle of sticks bound together with string and wax; on the head-piece string is cemented to represent hair. Their children also play with little clay images of cattle and men, a custom they have preserved from their old Zulu ancestors but foreign to the Yao. The Ankonde children have carved wooden dolls not seen in any other tribe. *Mwanache* is made from a maize-cob by shredding the papery coverings of the cob; on these shreds are threaded white and red varieties of maize to represent beads, or the shreds are plaited into a number of tags to represent hair.

Latterly, the children have taken to making hoops and show considerable skill in driving them with a piece of bent reed (Pl. XXII, fig. 8), while the older boys make two- [77]
wheeled representations of bicycles with a very clever imitation of all the parts of the machine.

The whipping-top, *nangulya* or *nanguwaya* (*nguli*, Chin.), is found among the boys' toys. It is made of a conical piece of wood with a flat top and no metal peg. It is started spinning by pulling off the string wound round the top. The whip consists of a piece of string fastened to the end of a stick. Sometimes tops of large size are used, and two boys whip them from opposite sides (Pl. XXII, fig. 6).

A game called *chipute* is played by youths; it takes its name from *ku-puta*, to strike, and refers to the action of striking with a finger the hand in which a bean is guessed to be. A spiral is drawn with the finger in the sand with a central point to represent a village, and a tail-piece prolonged on one side to a second point which represents a slave-market on the coast. Along the line, a number of other points are demarcated to represent sleeping places *en route*. At the village, two white beans are put to represent the two players and with each is a smaller brown bean to represent his slave. At the slave-market are placed a variety of beans to represent trade-goods, calico, beads, etc. Each of the two players in turn shakes a single bean in his closed hands and then closes the hands, separating them at the

857 same time so that the bean is contained in one hand; the other player has to guess in which
524 the bean lies and this he does by striking with the finger the hand in which he imagines the bean to be. If the striker guesses correctly, he moves his man and his slave to the first sleeping-place. It is then his turn to hide the bean. So it goes on till one or the other arrives at the slave-market. Here he barters his slave for trade-goods and returns in the same way; whoever gets home first wins, and the loser is said "to have died on the road," a not uncommon event in the old days. It is interesting to note that cheating is sometimes attempted
[789] by palming beans between the fingers, so that in the hand guessed, the bean is palmed between the fingers, and, in the other hand, a bean is released from between the fingers into the palm.

526 *Njenge* (nsikwe, Chin.): a kind of ninepins, which takes its name from the object which is thrown to knock down the ninepins. The game is played by youths and men, equal numbers sitting in two parallel rows fronting each other on the ground, the two rows composed of a dozen or more persons, a few yards apart. Each person has set up in front of him on the ground a maize cob from which the grain has been stripped, or each may have a number of them, perhaps six. In the former case, the cobs are perhaps two feet apart, in the latter only a few inches. Each player is provided with several *njenge*, from six to twenty-four in number. The *njenge* is a piece from the side of a gourd, slightly concavo-convex and circular in plan, with the edge often cut into serrations. A piece of reed is fixed through a hole in the centre, projecting an inch or an inch and a half from the convex surface, thus forming a kind of teetotum, two or three inches in diameter (Pl. XXII, fig. 9). It is held between the thumb and second finger by the foot-piece; by a sharp movement of the fingers, it can be spun out of the hand and, at the same time, jerked forward by another sharp movement at the wrist. At a given signal, the players on both sides start launching forth their little tops which spin away towards the maize cobs of the opposing side, the object being to knock them down. When there are many on a side, each with a number of cobs, many fall with the first onslaught, but as fewer and fewer remain, it becomes more difficult, and players try to show their skill by aiming at the cobs farthest away from them, along the opposite line. The game goes on till only one cob is left standing; then, if a player of the opposite side knocks it down, he puts one of his own up again, and the side which had the one remaining puts one up, and so the game may go on. When they are tired of playing, they say, "*Kusinde tunusye,*" "We must finish the game," literally "Come on, we must smell."[1] A knife is then stuck in the ground on either side, the blade pointing to the opposite side, and each man, when he has hit the knife of the opposing side with his *njenge*, is considered to have shown his skill, and goes off. The last man remaining is laughed at as being a fool at the game. If a headman is playing, he makes sure of having his try first, so that he will not be left in to the last. The game has a great fascination for the natives and it is said of Malemya, the uncle of the present chief (1913), that he was

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[1] Vide supra, p. 357.

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so enthusiastic a player that if anyone wanted to make a joke at his expense, he would snap his fingers, imitating the action of throwing the *njenga*.

Chipalapasa: a Mang'anja game now played by the Yao which takes its name from *kupalapasa*, to scratch as a fowl does looking for food. The words used in the game are all Chinyanja. A number of beans, perhaps twenty, are put down in a row at intervals on the ground. One player manipulates the beans, while the other has his back turned so that he cannot see. The first player calls, "*Chipalapasa chipalapasa!*" the second answers, "*Mwana khanga* (child of a guinea-fowl)." The first then says "*Nanga apa!* (What about here?)", pointing to the first bean; the second player answers "*Tolani!* (Pick it up!)." At the second round, the first player having picked up the first bean, points to the place where it was and repeats his cry, but at the words, "*Nanga apa,*" the second player has to say, "*Palibe!* (There is none)." Then he comes to the second bean and says, "*Nanga apa*" and the second player, knowing that he has come to the second bean, answers, "*Tolani!*" When three, four, or five beans have been picked up, the first player asks three, four, or five times, "*Nanga apa?*" and the second player to each question should answer, "*Palibe!*" and then, when the first player points to a bean and not to a blank, the second player should know that he has come to a bean and answer, "*Tolani!*" instead of "*Palibe!*" When played quickly, it is not altogether easy to answer correctly, as the end of the line of beans is approached. 524

Chipata cha mapula (to strike with the hand) is played with four pebbles or beans. Starting with two in each hand, the fists are closed and then making similar movements of throwing from each hand, two are thrown from one hand, or one from each as the case may be, as a sleight-of-hand. One of the two thrown on the ground is then taken up in each hand, and the guesser has to say in which the three are. This he indicates by striking the hand with one of his fingers. This game has many variations.

Chitatata: a game of jumping from a big rock over a fire. Before jumping, the boys sing, "*Chitatata chitatata ech!*" 857 524

Chindonandona (*ku-tona*, to pinch): each of a number of boys loosely pinches hold of the skin of the back of the hand of his neighbor, one hand above the other. They then sing: 526

"*Chindonandona chindonandona, ezikitale!*"
"Pinch Pinch, cut asunder!"

At the word *ezikitale*, everyone should break away while digging his nails into the hand beneath his. Some one of them is sure to have had his attention distracted and forget to pinch hard, while he himself receives a pinch hard enough to make him jump.

Running races, each boy hums a note: — "um . . . m," each one in a different key. Anyone changing his note is disqualified.

Ipwaso: a number of stems of a reedlike grass with long joints, or small millet stalks are 524
bound together by their upper ends. The free ends are heated in a fire, then banged down 857

524 on a stone. They explode with a noise like the sound of a gun. The boys send them off, one
857 after the other, imitating fighting, or sometimes bang them down on some one's head. They go off, making the sound *ipoeo!*

Small boys or girls among themselves play a clapping game called *pyajila*. One sings:

[539] " *Pyajila pyajila, pyajila pyajila, pyajila pyajila, juanyere mangi'jo pa mlango pa' mao!*
" Sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep the one who has passed excrement the at the door at his mother's,
Nagombe, kamo, kawili! " etc.,
let him clap once, twice! " etc.

They all clap together at the word " once," " twice," and so on. No one knows how many times they are going to be called on to clap, and some one is sure to clap when no word is given and so is caught and made fun of, as the one who has misbehaved.

[152 80] *Likwata* (*ku-kwata*, to clap): simple clapping when pleased with anything is commonly indulged in, mostly by women and girls.

Little girls play at making little pots. This is called *gumbaiwiga*, (*ku-gumba chiwiga*, to model a pot). They also play at pounding grain, called *chindichi*, " learning to keep time," the word itself being an imitation of the sounds. Five or six pound in one mortar; in between strokes, they throw the wooden pestles up in the air, catching them again to time.

[539] " *Jutapikule katuli jo! ajo mauri jo akuloga!* "
" The one who upsets little mortar the! that one witch is bewitching! "

This is the song of a game played by little girls. One sits in the middle with a *singwe* on her head, to represent a grain mortar, while the others form a ring round her holding hands. As they sing, the circle at one point swings in, and one of the girls passes in front of the one sitting down, her back to her all the time, the hands passing over her head. This they do one after the other very quickly and anyone who touches the girl in the middle, " who knocks down the mortar," takes the place of the girl in the middle.

[539] " *Âsonowangu Asonowangu njahati mhe!* "
" Our wives, our wives, cutting off (interjection)!"

is the song of a game played by a lot of boys together or a lot of girls together; they do not join with one another. Two opposing groups are formed of equal numbers. Each is led by one of the older children and behind him is the rest of the group, each holding on to the cloth of the one in front. The followers of each leader represent his wives. The two parties then sing and maneuver for the leader to get at the tail of the other group and " collar " a wife or two from his opponent. It becomes very exciting. As they go faster and faster, some of the tail may get swung off and captured by the other side before they can again join their own.

224 857 Trapping and catching of animals is pursued with great glee by small boys. They make many of the traps, particularly the two kinds of *liliwa*, *chipeto*, *chijumba*, *chitawa*, *liwamo*, and *ngwu*. *Lilesa* is set in rat runs and the rats are driven into them (Pl. XX, fig. 6). Digging-out rats is a favorite amusement for the boys and brings meat to the pot. May is the best month for this sport. They are adepts at recognising burrows which have rats inside. Digging is commenced at one entry to the rat-warren, the escape holes being closed with tufts of grass. As they get nearer the rat chambers, they smell the earth and so know when they are quite close to the rats. A bunch of grass is then put in this hole, lighted, and kept aglow by blowing on it. One of the rats will try to bolt and is knocked on the head. His head is then squashed to kill him effectually, and the skin of the tail of the first rat is always pulled off for luck, "so that they may catch many." They will try to guess how many there are going to be, "ten and ten and five and two!" Each rat when caught is buried under some earth, so that the hawks will not swoop down and carry it off. When they have finished one warren, one of the party is appointed to carry all the rats. He ties a string round his waist, and the rats are slipped underneath it and so secured. They then go on to another; the carrier will bear the whole catch for the day and may, before they have finished, have several strings of rats round his body, one above the other.

226 857 Digging-out crabs, *ku-kopa ngala*, is another favorite amusement for children; (*ku-kopa* is to dig up anything like mud which makes a squelching sound). Crabs are never eaten with flour, but always with *maeste*, the grain husks, "crabs and brown-bread!"

223 411 Youths and girls fish with a rod, line, wire hook, and worm, *ku-loposya somba*, to pull up fish. They also catch fish, using the fish poison, *mtutu*. Birds are killed with a bow and a blunt-pointed wooden arrow.

857 A small boy, seeing a girl or a younger boy with a cob of maize and wanting it himself, will say, "Let me make a path to the coast!" He will then remove, say a couple of rows of maize grains for himself, much to the interest of the owner; or "Let me make *ilemba*" (*ilemba* is a shaved band on the scalp), or "Let me make the crab's eyes!" when two solitary grains are left, surrounded by a simple ring of other grains, as the girl's portion.

857 Children are taught a little saying about their fingers which reminds one of the "This little pig went to market" of one's infancy. Starting with the little finger, they say: 524

"*Akaka kangaicha kangaicha!*"
"This little one (is) the one which cannot draw water!" 539

Pointing to the ring finger,

"*Kankulugwe njungunde!*"
"This little one's brother (is) the one that picks the nose!"

To the middle finger,

"*Njungunde mmala wandu!*"
"(The brother of) the one that picks the nose (is) the one who finishes men!"

857 To the index:

524 *"Lukongolo lua ng'ombe lua luendela mwilambo!"*

539 "(This one is) the leg of an ox which walks on the plain!"

To the thumb:

"Chamsano"

"The fifth"

Cat's Cradles are known as *chitagwa*, "the spider's web" (Pl. XXIII). The position 857 of the string on the hands is as in Position I of Miss Haddon's book and this is followed by 524 Opening A, given by the same author.[1] (Pl. XXIII, figs. 1, 2.) Three methods of arriving at the same figure, which is called "the net," are shown here (Pl. XXIII). Variety C is followed by the making of a knot, figured in C 13, known as "the child." There are probably a number of other forms made by natives, but these, which I saw one of my women patients make, will serve as an example.

Musical Instruments. The number of instruments proper to the Yao appears to be 534 small, indeed probably only two in number, the *mangolongondo* and the *chityatyo*, with perhaps the three holed flute, *chitolilo*.

The former is constructed on the principle of a xylophone; it consists of two trunks of banana trees laid on the ground and held in position by stakes. They are not quite parallel but approach each other somewhat at one end, being from one to two feet apart; on these rest cross-wise a number of pieces of wood of varying thickness and length, kept in position by pegs driven into the banana trunks on each side of each billet. These are struck with sticks by a single player, or by two persons sitting on opposite sides of the instrument. Another variety is found in which the pieces of wood, which may have holes bored in them to effect differences in sound, are arranged over a hole scooped in the ground (Pl. V, fig. 1).

The *chityatyo* consists of a piece of plank hollowed out to form a resonator on which are fixed a number of keys of bamboo or metal of different lengths. These are arranged across a bridge, and the free ends are set in vibration by twanging with the fingers.

[477] The instrument now most commonly seen is the *sese* which was introduced, I think, from the coast about 1890 to 1900. It is a type of guitar.

An instrument played by women — and this again is of recent introduction among the Yao — is the *mkangala*, which consists simply of a stick of wood about a yard long to which is affixed a single string. One end is held between the teeth, the other in the hand; it is twanged by being struck with the thumb and finger of the other hand close to the mouth, which is opened to different degrees, and gives a variety of notes resembling those of a jews' harp.

The *ching'wenyeng'wenye* and drums are referred to under *Dancing*.

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[1] Kathleen Haddon, Cat's cradles from many lands, New York, 1911.

Women stick on a small spit a pretty green and white beetle, one of the *Cetoniidæ*. The free end of the spit is then held between the teeth. At different positions on the stick, 534 the buzzing of the impaled insect gives rise to different notes. The beetle is named *ching-* 237 *[illegible]* or *[illegible]* (*sangalire*, Chin.). The wing-covers of another beetle, *matche-teke*, a *Lamellicorn*, are used by women for the making of a musical instrument. The wing-covers of some twenty of these insects are threaded on a string arranged round the shoulders and feet of the player as she sits on the ground. The string on each side, as it passes from the shoulder to the foot of the same side, is plucked by the fingers of the opposite hand, different notes being obtained by different degrees of tension put on the string by pressure with the feet. The wing-covers give a buzzing quality to the notes which all natives like.

Mention should also be made of the horn, *lipenga*, commonly made of a long piece of reed or bamboo with a trumpet-shaped end, made out of a portion of a gourd. Antelope [484] horns are also used. The horn is blown on journeys.

Dancing. Dancing among the Yao, as among many other peoples, is the outcome of 535 the pleasure experienced in rhythmical movements. The first accompaniment was probably the clapping of hands to mark time, followed by some exclamatory sounds more or less prolonged and occurring at regular intervals. Later, there was probably some refrain and, later still, drums were added to mark time, and songs formed an additional accompaniment. I believe that, here, dancing has always been an expression of pleasure and happiness and has been secondarily introduced at many ceremonies. In the majority of cases, such ceremonies were occasions of joy, the only exception being at funerals, but there I think their introduction was rather as a means of passing the time and avoiding silent brooding than as any real part of the rite.

The names given to various dances indicate their time or rhythm, and are, therefore, comparable to our own words, waltz, two-step, etc. There may be a number of airs for each time, and many sets of words to each air. The time may be given by clapping only, or by the addition of drums. Anyone acquainted with these dances, hearing drumming in the distance, can at once recognise the dance that is going on.

The drums which are used at dances (Pl. XXII), are made of a hollowed-out log of 534 wood with a skin tambour stretched over the mouth of the drum and fixed by wooden pegs. On the tambour is smeared a layer of beeswax. The tambour is tightened by warming 535 over a fire, so that the correct note is obtained; a fire is always kept burning close to the spot where drums are being played.

Likuti: a drum shaped somewhat like a native flour mortar, three to six feet high with 534 the tambour one to two feet in diameter. The drum usually lies on the ground, the player sitting on the barrel of the drum, or he may have it suspended from him by a cord, the body of the drum dragging on the ground between his legs. It is played with both hands and gives a deep, resonant note, "*ti, ti, ti!*" (Pl. XXII, figs. 12, 18).

534 *Ntyutiya:* like *likuti*, but played in a different way, giving the sound "*tyu tyu tyu!*"

Mahose: the same as *likuti*, but with a higher pitched note. This can be produced by heating the *likuti* drum over a fire.

Chichowa or lingoba: a small drum eight to ten inches high, held in the hands by strings on either side, in the same way as a concertina, and pressed against the chest while being played with the fingers. It may be alternately pressed firmly and lightly against the chest, giving variety in timbre. The base which rests against the body is cut down into a kind of foot-piece (Pl. XXII, fig. 13).

Chingonga: a small drum eight to ten inches high, rather goblet-shaped with stem and base, the circumference about equal to the height. It is beaten with two sticks, "*ngongonga ngonga!*" (Pl. XXII, fig. 17).

Chimininga: the same drum played with two sticks, "*mini, mini, mini!*"

Ndimbo: a small three legged drum about the same size as *chingonga*. It can be carried in one hand and played with the other. It is used with one stick or more, in place of *chingonga* and *chimininga* (Pl. XXII, fig. 16).

Meiwa: an old drum not now used. It varied in size from one to four feet long, was suspended from the neck, and played at both ends (Pl. XXII, fig. 14).

It is very difficult to give any idea of the time and different sounds the drums give. People learn them by repeating the sounds the drums make thus: *Ndî dîn dî ntîpîî ndî dîn dî mînî mînî ntîpî ntîpî*, etc. Several drums, often six or more, are played together, each contributing its element of sound. They are often played very fast, but the time kept is most exact.

535 Dances are ordinarily performed by everyone in a village, but there is always a leader. Or again, there are trained bands of dancers who earn their living by attending ceremonies or any festive occasion. In a few cases, the dances are only danced by professional dancers. A short account is given below of many of the Yao dances.

Likwata: (*ku-kwata*, to clap the hands). No drums are employed, but the time is kept by clapping. In some villages, drums have lately been introduced. It is a common dance in a village on any moonlight night, just for amusement. Women and girls take part. Standing in a circle, they sing and clap, while any who wish, go into the circle, perhaps a dozen at a time, and dance their shuffling steps. A song which is included under *likwata*, is a representation of the dung-beetles (scarab) rolling the little balls of dung to their nesting places. The women shuffle backwards or forwards, like the beetles, one pushing and one going backwards pulling. As they dance, they sing:

[534] "*Likoma, tuti tuti!*"
"(oh little) dung-beetle, push push!"

Refrain:

"*Likulula manyi!*"
"It is rolling dung!"

Chindimba: the *chindimba* songs are the favorites among all the older people. They have been in late years partly replaced by others, but, at the present time, there is a tendency 535 to return to them; they are staid in tone and the dance is sedate. *Chindimba* is always played at mournings. While the whole company sits around in a circle with the drums at one side, a couple of people do the dancing in the middle. The drums used are a *chinganga*, two *tchemu*, and a *likuti*. With the commencement of drumming, a man well known for his songs steps out into the middle and begins singing; he is followed by another man or maybe a woman who sings a second part; the two singers are generally people who have found that they sing well together. Two such people will be welcomed, and they may sing many songs, while any young upstarts who do not sing well together, will be given to understand that their performance does not meet with approval. People have their favorite songs, and there may be much heart-burning if an old man finds some one else singing a song that he considers especially his own. As they sing, they dance their peculiar shuffling steps. (The words of some of these songs are given later.)

Selepe: an Angoni dance sometimes danced by the Yao. It resembles *chindimba* in that all sit singing and clapping while, one at a time, men dance in the open space to time given by bamboo sticks knocked together. The songs are all hunting songs.

It is impossible to describe the steps used in all the dances; for each dance, they differ, of course, and except by a cinematograph film, they cannot be reproduced. The movements of the feet are ordinary stepping motions or patting of the ground with the feet, the actual excursions being very small, so that in most cases it is impossible to devise any means of making out the steps. To enable them to perform these steps, they commonly dance with [514] the knees bent, the buttocks protruded behind, and the back arched. In some cases, this attitude is extreme.

There is a large series of dances which, to the uninitiated spectator, appear to resemble each other very closely. The general plan of the dance is as follows. The drums are placed in the middle; around them in a circle are the dancers and outside these, the onlookers. The circle may be thirty or forty strong, composed of men only or of men and women as the case may be. Commonly, the ring of dancers is divided into two halves, each half being headed by a leader who sings the song, all joining in the refrain, while the onlookers do the clapping. When the drums begin, they all walk round in a circle, but at a given signal, one of the drums gives out a new time, and the whole circle starts dancing with short, shuffling movements already described, usually progressing in the circle, sometimes going backwards, sometimes facing the drums or turning right around in the line.

Mkomenda is a dance of, I believe, recent introduction which has replaced to some extent *chindimba*, much to the disgust of the older people who dislike the innovation. They [177] shake their heads and say, "*Chilambo chimasile!*" "The world is finished." The drums used are *likuti*, *utiputiga*, *mchaso*, and *chinganga*. It is danced by men and youths only.

Njoela or, as it was known some years ago, *mgumbali*, is danced like *mkomenda*, but the

535 steps are accompanied by movements of the shoulders which form the feature of the dance. Performers may go into the middle and do *ku-pumila* (see *mkonde*).

Mkwenda resembled *ajeala*; it is an old dance not seen now.

Chilenda is a dance for youths, the characteristic feature being that, at intervals, they squat down on their heels and spin round very fast, with frog-like movements (Pl. III, fig. 1).

Mkonde is a favorite dance for men and women; drums, *likuti*, *ntiputipa*, *mahose*, *chimininga*, and several *lingaka*. The dancers commence by going round in a circle, and then, facing the drums, they all continue their steps without moving from their places, while a few go out into the circle and dance in the open space about the drums. Two men go out from one side and are met by two women from the other side. Men love to carry their knives in their hands on these occasions, properly the large knife with an ivory handle called *msinja*; a man would go miles to borrow such a knife from a friend, for the dance. The women often carry rattles in their hands. After dancing in the middle for a time, they will severally withdraw to the circle, to be followed by others. A man dancing out into the middle, may go up to any woman in the circle or among the onlookers, and by touching her on the shoulder with his knife, invite her to come out and dance. In the middle of the ring, he may embrace her, after which each retires to his place. To make this embrace is called *ku-pumila*; the man folds the woman to his breast. It is very gently done with a certain air of gallantry, and there was formerly no objectionable element in it. A man does not extend this embrace to his wife or to any near relatives. *Ku-pumila* occurs in other dances: *chilenda*, *chilowe*, *mimjowa*, *ajeala*, *mkanda*, *masembala*, *chikilo*, *lichipi*, and *lipupa*, and in *sekwe*.

Chilowe: the drums used are *chimininga* and *mahose*. It is danced by young men and women; as in other dances, a ring is formed, the men on one side, the women on the other. The song is usually started by two men on one side and answered by two women on the opposite side. When the song is well under way, the drums are signalled and all start dancing in a circle. Movement in all dances is counter-clockwise. After circling round, the dancers come to a stand-still, while men and women go out into the middle and dance a kind of quick heel-and-toe step, followed by *ku-pumila*.

In the intervals of dancing, the girls and boys often play at *sekwe*. They may stand or 535 sit in a ring. One of the boys standing in the middle sings, "*Sekwe sekwe, sekwe mwaka, sekwe!*" with an accompaniment of clapping by the ring of youths, but no drums. He then 857 goes up to any girl sitting in the ring and asks her whom she wants; she names some one who is then called out, and the girl and boy dance up and down together, embrace (*ku-pumila*), and return to their places. Another girl is then asked. Sometimes the girls will take up the song, and ask the boys to choose. It is like a kind of "kiss in the ring."

There is another kind of dance for boys and girls. They are arranged in rows opposite one another, some paces apart. The boys grasp a long pole and bending forward, dance up

to the row of girls, singing, "*[illegible]*!" refrain, "*Mapereka*!" (ku-pereka, to 535
give). Leaving the pole at the girls' feet, they retreat, after which the girls take it up 857
and advance to the boys in the same way.

Chikire is danced rather like *ndomonda*. A group of men dancers go round in a circle, 535
and within this circle may be a line of women dancing to the same time but with rather different steps than the men. This I have seen danced by a trained band of dancers, but onlookers join in. A man may lead a woman into the middle and embrace her. There is a tendency among these trained dancers to forsake the old time stately embrace for something which is not so unobjectionable.

Likhipi is a new dance, but one that is well-liked. The drums are as in ndomonda. Men, women, and young people dance in a circle followed by entry into the middle, and ku-pereka.

Mkunda is danced by men on one side and women on the other side of a circle, to drums ndosu, ndindo and mangaza. Any of them may dance out into the middle after going round in a circle.

Lipenga is an old dance for the older men and women. Like mkunda, the steps are slower and are characterised by side-to-side movements.

Mtulumga: drums, *likuti*, *chingonga*, and a ndosu drum called *nditiko*, because it is so played as to give the sound "*ndiktiki*!" It is danced by men in a crowd. While the feet do little, shuffling steps, the buttocks are jerked out backwards and forwards.

Chondomali: a dance of recent introduction resembles *atali*.[1]

There are three dances which are danced by special dancers.

Mlinjana: the same as the mbenda of the *Anyanja*,[2] generally danced by four men who [292]
wear a kind of kilt made of strips of palm-leaf, and rattles, *masaka*, on their legs. They may also wear the *liunga*, a headdress made of the tail-feathers, *nsya*, of the *chiunga* bird: it is like a broad hat-brim without a crown, the feathers projecting radially. The *ndanda*, a piece of a shell which comes from the Zanzibar coast is also often worn (Pl. III, fig. 2). The drums which give the time are *chiminingo*, played very rapidly indeed. The steps are incredibly fast, with greater contortions than in the other dances, and usually end up with a jump into the air and a pose with grimacing. A circle is formed round them by the young people who, in the intervals, walk round singing and clapping. The dancers may call out any girl for the embrace.

Msanja: danced by two or three pairs of men who wear the palm-leaf kilt, *masimbwa*, [292]
and a broad, bark-cloth belt called *chanda*. When the drums start, these dancers walk round the circle of onlookers, and get the song going, and the clapping to time; then with a signal to the drummers, they start dancing alternately an extremely rapid dance with rattles in the hands, *nsanje*, and a kind of *danse-du-ventre*, *chanda*. The drums employed are *ndosu*, *nitiptipa*, and *chimindigo*. The rapid dancing is too exhausting to last more than a few seconds. This is always danced at *Lupanda*.

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[1] Cf. Stannus, "Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa," op. cit., p. 331.

[2] Ibid.

535 *Ching'wenyeng'wenye:* A soloist dances about, playing a single-string viol with a bow as he sings. His songs are all about people, village episodes full of personalities and many witticisms. Kondani of Malempya's was a well known performer (Pl. I).

533 **Songs.** The following are some of the *Chindimba* songs:

539

1

1st voice. *Kutumbila asyene [illegible] achilendo agona kwapi?*
To be angry the owner of the house strangers they sleep where?
2d voice. *Kutumbila asyene [illegible] Che Nkalala tinjiwe.*
To be angry the owner of the house (Mr.) Nkalala I shall die.
1st voice. *Kuumbuga umami uwisiwe,*
To ask me to answer like you.
2d voice. *Kuumbuga umami Che Mbumba,*
To ask me to answer like master,
1st voice. *Alamu tingawile igego,*
Brother-in-law I will go then,
2d voice. *Alamu tingawile igego.*
1st voice. *Awala wanache agile achilimana.*
There (go) the children they go on all fours.
2d voice. *Oh lelo'ju tinjiwe.*
Oh today I shall die.
Chorus. *Kutumbila asyene [illegible]!*

The burden of the song is: We see we are not wanted here; better we went away!

2

1st voice. *Ah Ljime'we kulo kulo kupuha [illegible] lelo'ju!*
Ah baboon there jumping jumping to enjoy he is going to enjoy today!
2d voice. *Ah Ljime'wane! kupuha [illegible] mwanache!*
Ah the baboon there to enjoy he is going to enjoy child!
Chorus. *Kulya [illegible] [illegible]!*
to eat (seed) pods of dryness!

"Seed pods of dryness" is also referred to in a story of the baboon. When he is dozing at night sitting on a tree, he hears a seed-pod in the neighborhood crack, and wishing to mark the spot, so that he may go and eat the seed in the morning, he stretches out one arm in this direction and goes to sleep again, to be awakened by the sound of another cracking pod; whereupon he puts out another limb to mark that spot. Presently, he has all but one limb including his tail set out as sign-posts. Half awake he starts to put out the one remaining limb, and falls off the tree.

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534

3

1st voice. *Atindili mbututa nguanga* pilile eje wakulukwa,
pintadoes guinea fowl ooh! thank you you,
2d voice. *Atindili mbututa* akundenda atiyana'wo mwanga.
pintadoes they are calling me Atiyana there is going away home;
Chorus. *Kasosla, akalalili!*
Remove the hoe from its handle!

The name of any person may be introduced into these songs, sometimes the name of a member of the village or of some person well known in the district. To introduce a name thus is *ku-lamba*. *Eje!* is an exclamation of thanks; when receiving anything, both hands are held out, and the words *eje, eje, eje!* or *sango, sango!* are uttered.

4

1st voice. *Makolowole* 'gulile ausile apalapala ngampanda ngwamba.
The millet have eaten locusts you place did not plant not.
2d voice. 'Gulile ausile apalapala ngampanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!
Have eaten locust you place did not plant rice, father, not!
2d voice. *Apalapala ngampanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!*
1st voice. *Apalapala ngampanda mpunga, atati, ngwamba!*
Chorus. *Makolowole, gulile ausile!*

[241]

Makolowole: after the first crop of millet has been taken in, the stalks are cut off near the ground and the roots allowed to remain in the soil. Next season, they again sprout and yield a second crop. This second year growth is makolowole.

5

1st voice. *Masimba m'chingwanda* chile chile chiles chile chile!
Lions in the palm-trees at night, etc.
2d voice. *Masimba m'chingwanda,* kwimba likwata *Atigana! Tingwa* chile chile etc.
Lions in the palm-trees to sing *likwata Atigana!* I shall die tonight, tonight, etc.
Chorus. *Masimba m'chingwanda!*

Likwata is the name of a dance, *Atigana* is a woman's name. Cf. "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

6

1st voice. *Ndanda, ndanda, ndanda!* Repeat.
Teasing, teasing, teasing!
2d voice. *Mahulaga* chilenda ndanda, mundanda'ne, ngwenda!
If you have teasing teasing, me tease me, I am going away!
Chorus. *Ndanda!*

7

533
539

1st voice. *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
The one whom we were talking about, here he is! that thing which happened some-
[illegible]
time ago, the day after tomorrow!
2d voice. *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*
(a name) is going that thing which happened some time ago, I am off!
Chorus. *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
You give salt who has lies (lied to) you!

The meaning of this is: "If a man comes along who has done you an ill in the past and is just as likely to do so again, should you be inclined to reward his lies by giving him hospitality? Better to go away and leave him alone."

8

1st voice (male). *[illegible]* *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*
The little lip ring that, come and wash it! Repeat.
2d voice. *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
The little lip ring that, you folk over there, come and wash them today!
1st refrain. *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
Lest it turn into bumble-bee honey!
1st voice (female). *Ambi* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
What about beard yours? Refrain.
2d voice. *Ambi* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
What about beard your father? Refrain.
2d refrain. *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
Lest it turn into *[illegible]* (part of a maize cob).

9

1st voice. *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
Why are you crying oh! the cause?
2d voice. *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
I will take her to her own home there!
Chorus. *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
I am going to look for bees!

This refers to a troublesome wife. "Let her go back to her mother and the husband will go about his own business."

10

1st voice (woman). *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
If I were not discouraged then I would have been still trusting! Repeat.
2d voice (man). *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
If I were not discouraged then I should have been saying bear! bear!
[illegible] *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
Bear, bear, bear, dear me!

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301
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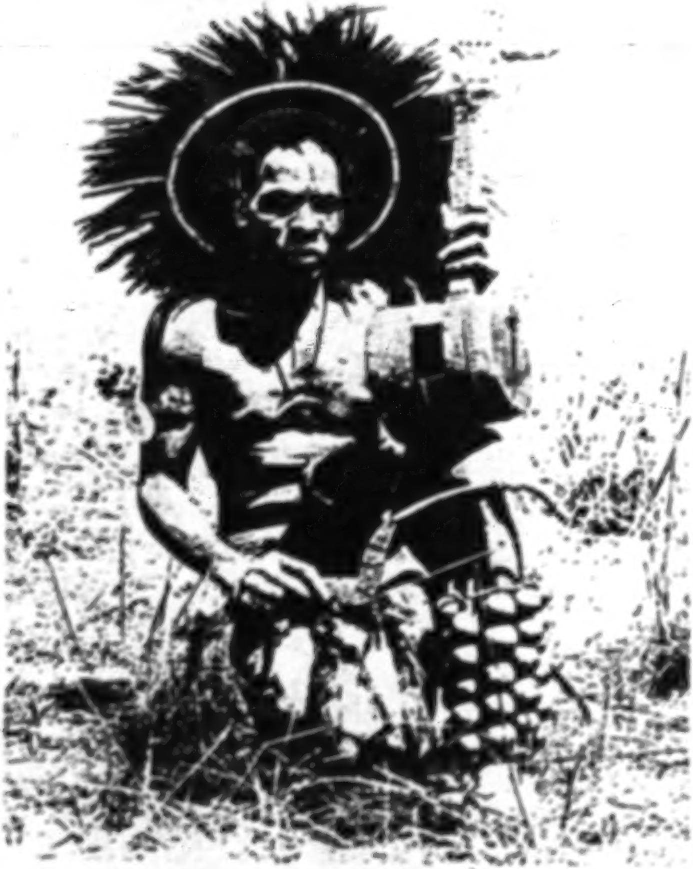

[illegible] DANCER

[illegible]

[End Plate 1]

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301

1

2

3

4

Yao natives

[End Plate 2]

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534
291
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857
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1. SMALL BOYS DANCING Chilende

2. PROFESSIONAL DANCERS WITH KILT AND LEG RATTLE

3. A CROWD OF YAOS AT A DANCE

4. POT-MAKING

[End Plate 3]

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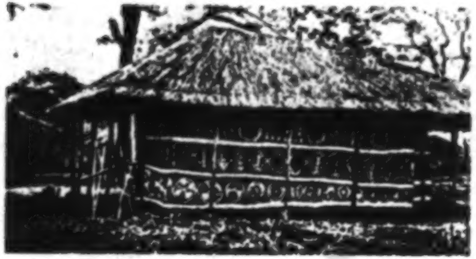
322

346
531
177

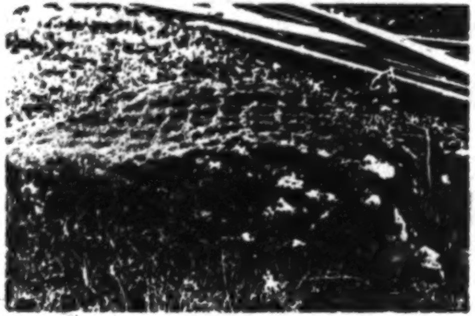
ODD



1. A MOHOMMEDAN MOSQUE DECORATED WITH GEOMETRIC DESIGNS OF COAST ORIGIN

2. A BIT OF YAO LAND

3. A SPRING AND NOOSE TRAP FOR SMALL ANIMALS

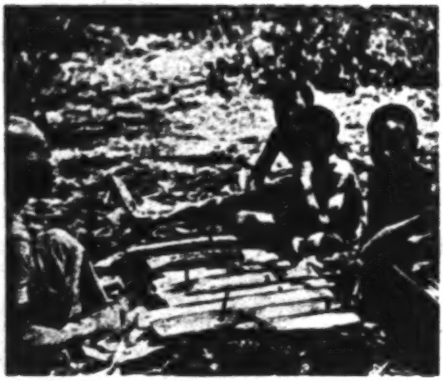


4. GRANITE WORKED WITH CUP-HOLES FOR THE GAME OF *Bao*

[End Plate 4]

534

291
357

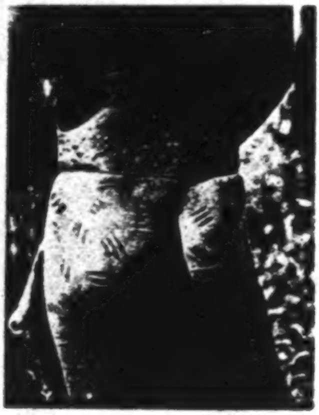


1. MUSICAL INSTRUMENT, THE mangolongondo, PLAYED BY YAO YOUTHS

2. A YAO AS A NATIVE SERVANT

304

142
301



3. SPECIMEN OF SCARIFICATION (YAO WOMAN)

4. A YAO NATIVE

[End Plate 5]

142
291
531

1. A Yao girl

2. Yao girl wearing bead apron

[177]
[304]

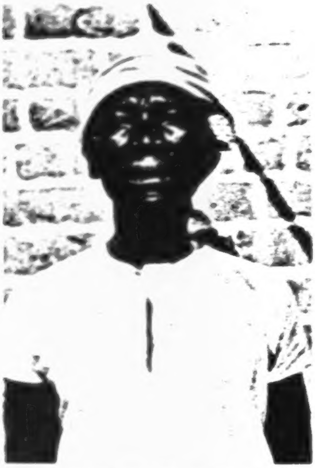
3. Two Yao girls wearing trade cloth

4. A young Yao woman

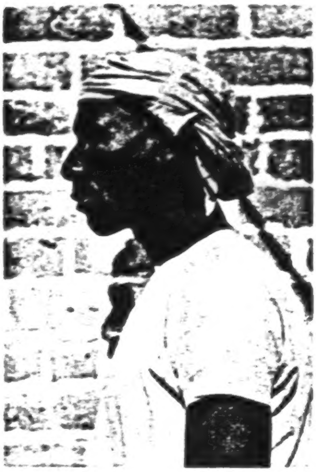
[End Plate 6]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

142
291

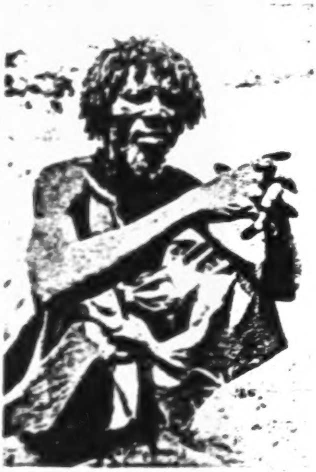


1. Yao man wearing headcloth coast fashion

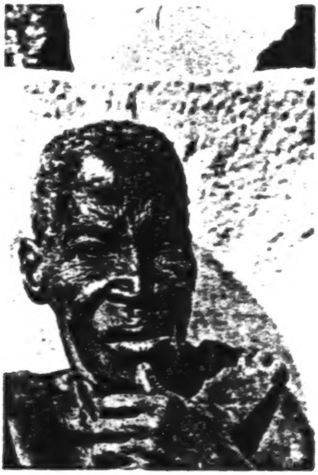


2. The same in profile

142
291
302



3. An old native who has allowed his hair to grow long



4. An old woman, showing the *upelele* worn in the upper lip

[End Plate 7]

532

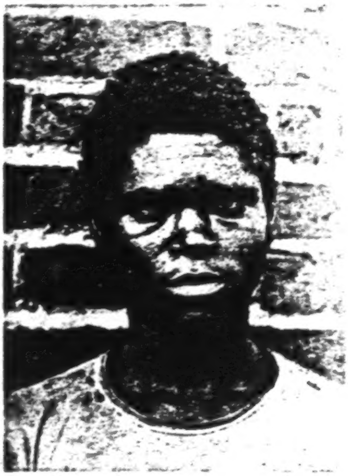
142
291

1. NATIVE PAINTING ON THE OUTSIDE OF A HUT WALL

2. A YAO NATIVE

142
302

3. MACHINGA YAO YOUTH

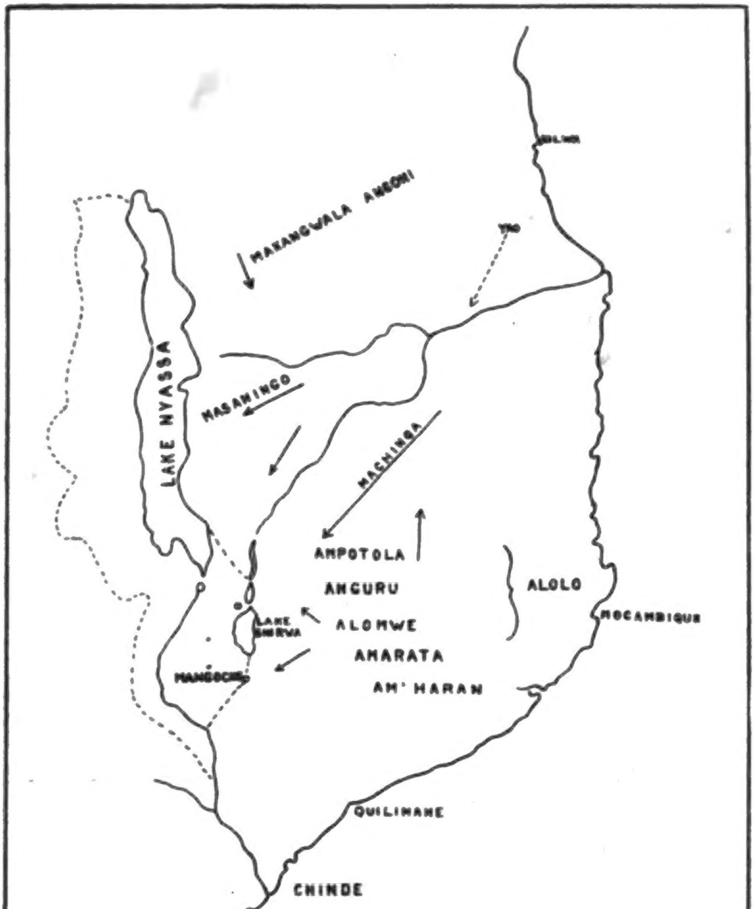


4. MASANINGA YAO YOUTH, SHOWING LOW GROWTH OF HAIR ON THE FOREHEAD

[End Plate 8]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

101
102
131



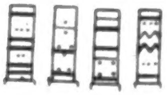
MAKANGWALA ANGONI
YAO
LAKE NYASSA
MASANINGO
MACHINGA
AMPOTOLA
ANGURU
ALOMWE
AMARATA
AM' HARAN
ALOLO
LAKE SHIRWA
MANGOCHE
MOCAMBIQUE
QUILIMANE
CHINDE

Distribution of the Yao in Nyasaland

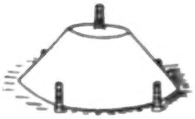
[End Plate 9]

778
825
532

[361]



1



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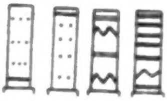
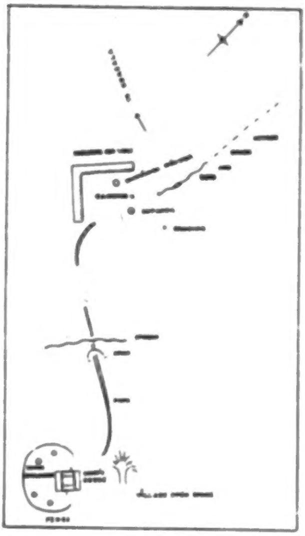


3



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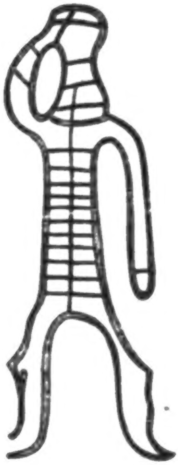

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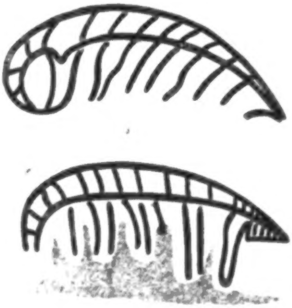

6

1-2, *CHINU' UNDANG'UNDA*; 3, *LUPANDA* POSTS; 4, SKETCH PLAN OF *LUPANDA*. 5-6, *INYAGO* FIGURES

[End Plate 10]
[Explanation of plates, cat. 116, p. 265]

H. S. STANNUS—WAYAO

PLATE XI

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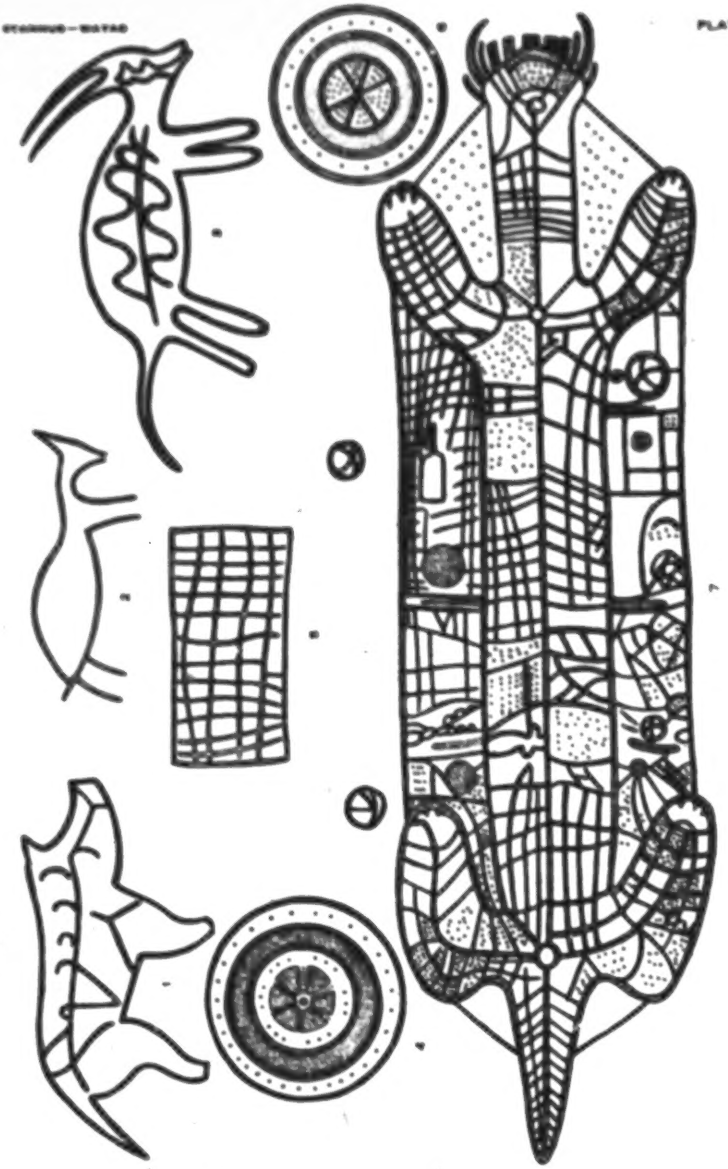
532
825



INYAGO FIGURES

[End Plate XI]

[For Plate Explanation, see cat. 116, p. 265]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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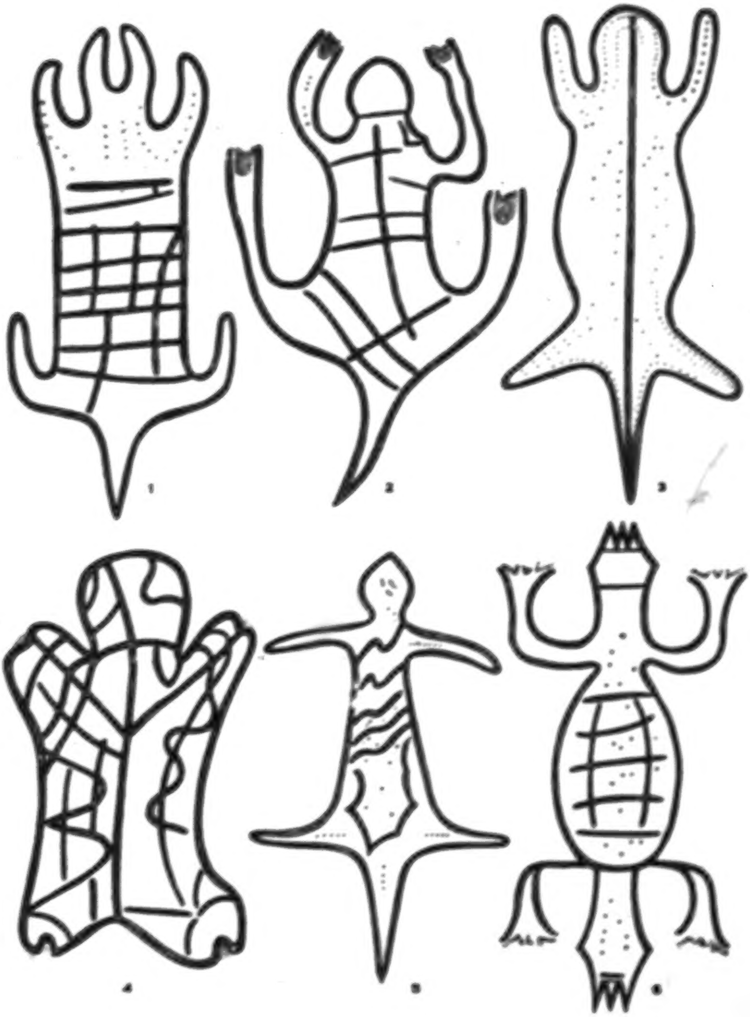
825
532



UNYAGO FIGURES

[End Plate 12]
[For explanation, see cat. 116, p. 265]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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825
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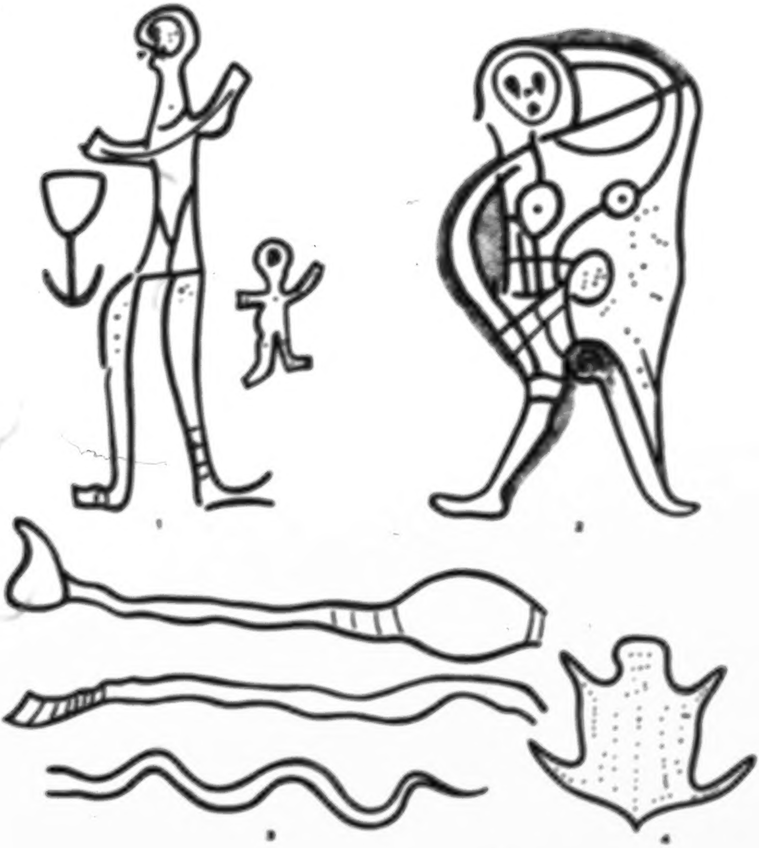


INYAGO FIGURES

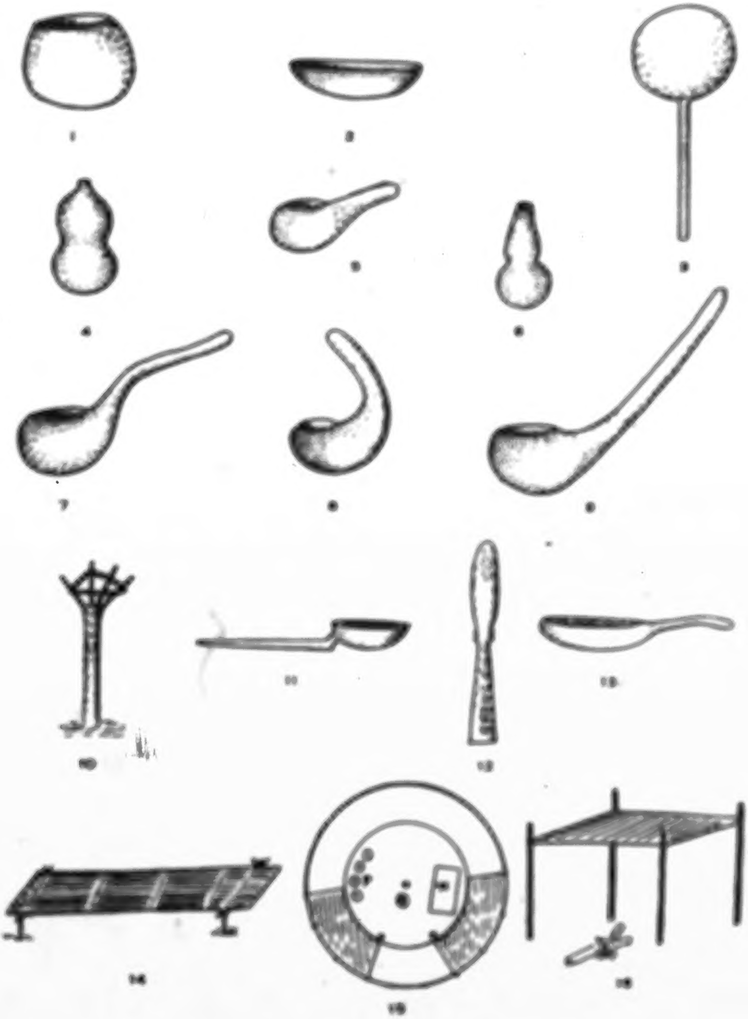
[End Plate 13]

[For explanation, see col. 116, p. 265]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

415

352
354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1-9, [illegible]; 10-13, [illegible]; 14, [illegible]; 15, [illegible]; 16, [illegible]

[End Plate 14]

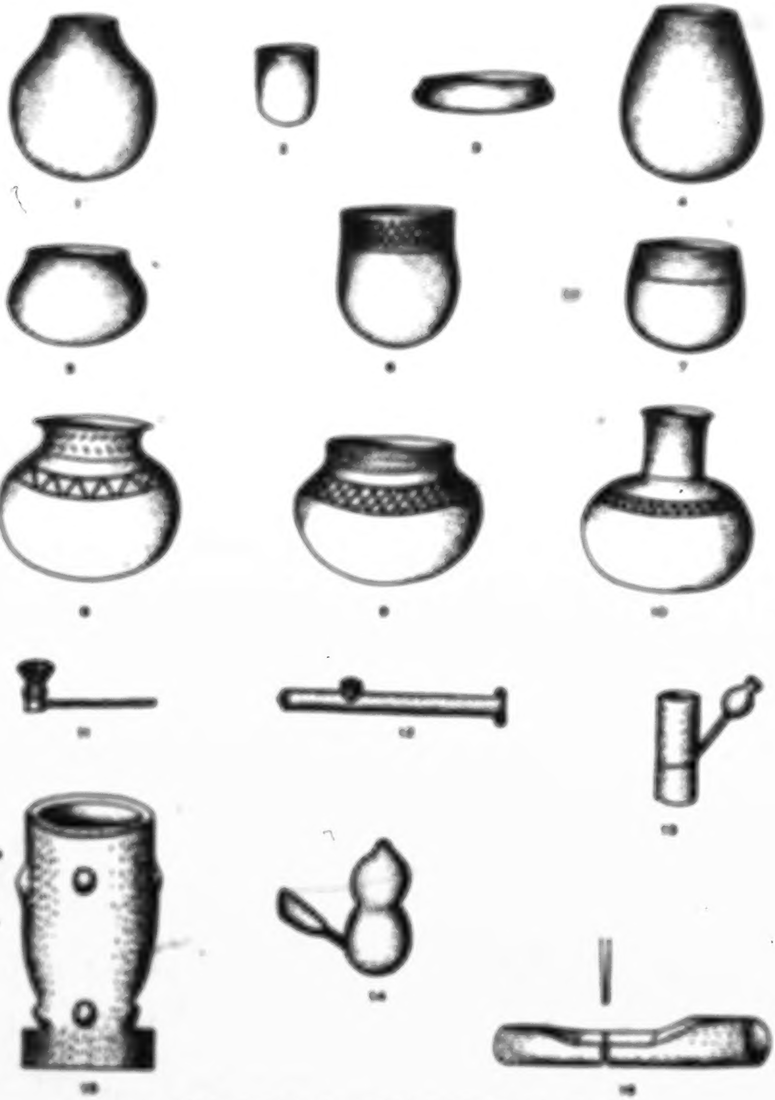
I:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 [illegible] Yao [illegible]

[illegible] PLATE XV

415
531

276

276
412
372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[illegible]

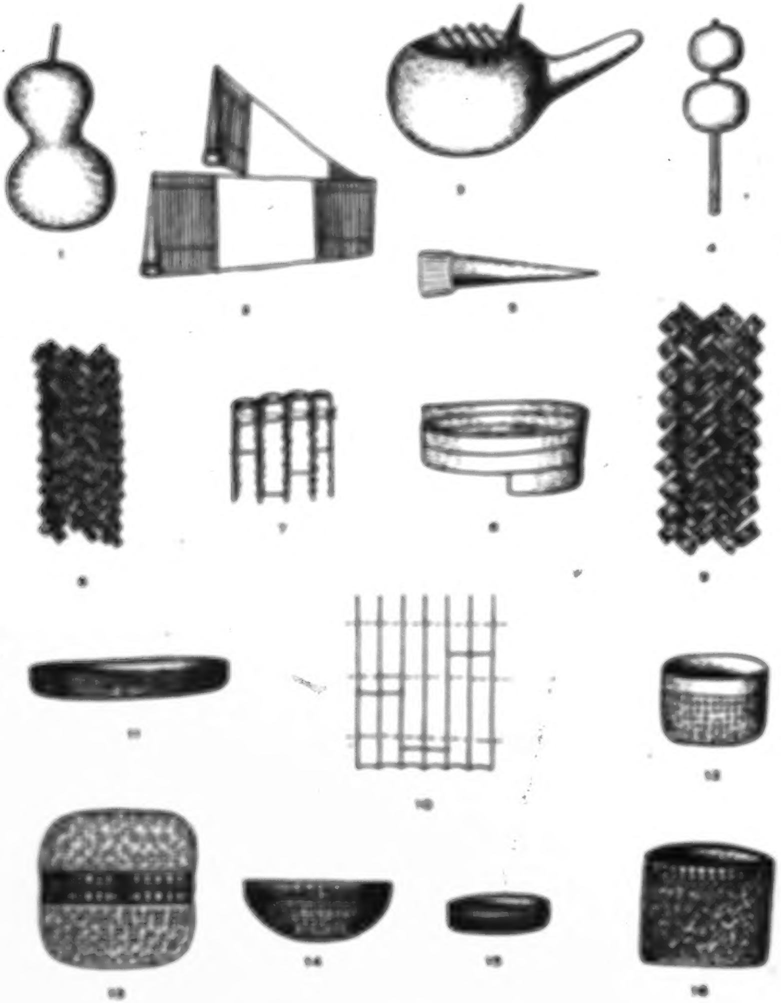
[End Plate 15]

3: [illegible] D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao FT7

1787

285

285
415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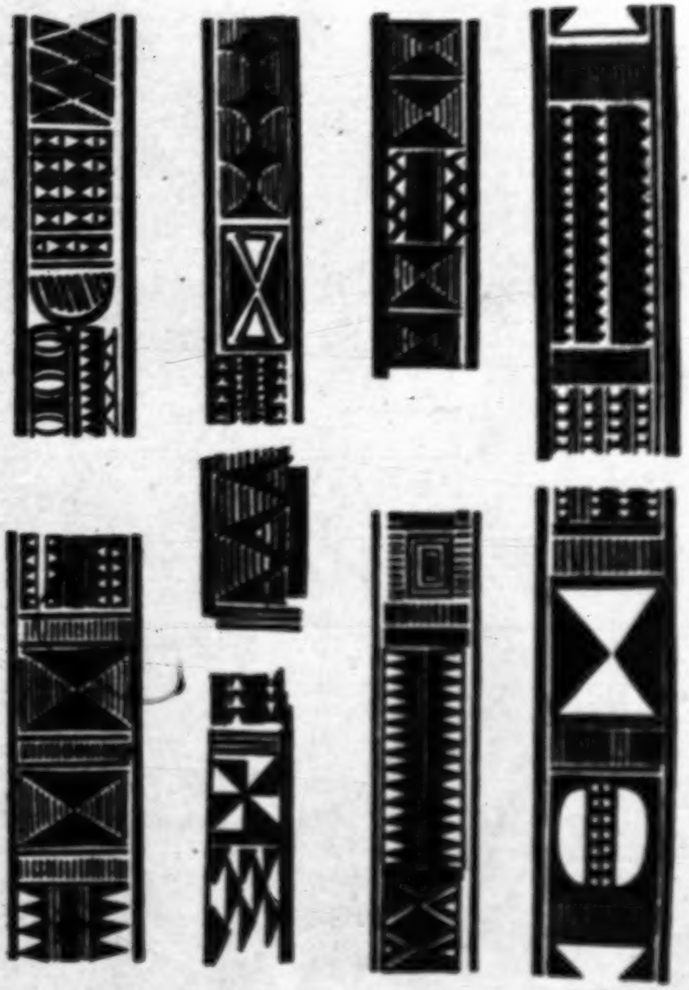
[illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible]

[End Plate 16]

285
531

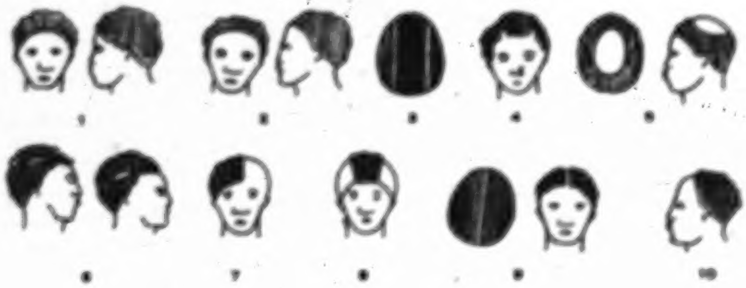


[illegible]

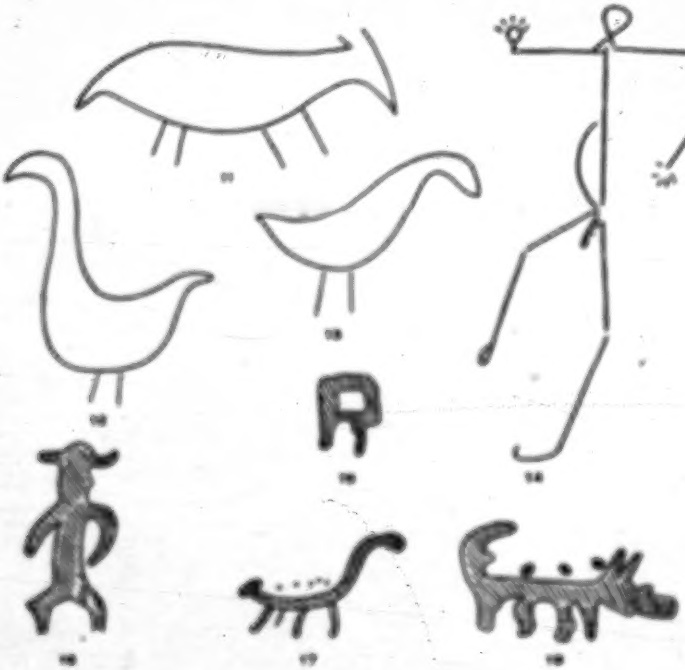
[End Plate 17]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Tao FT?

302



532

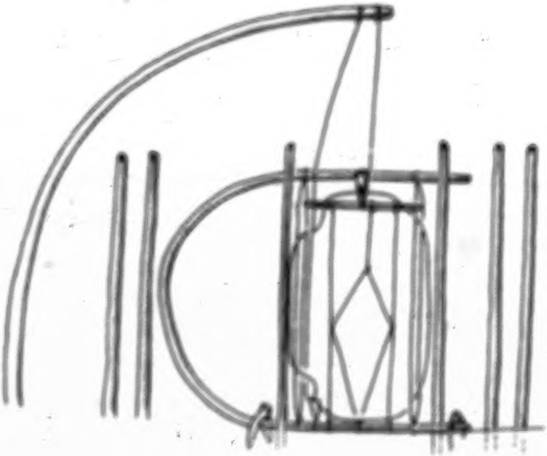


[illegible]

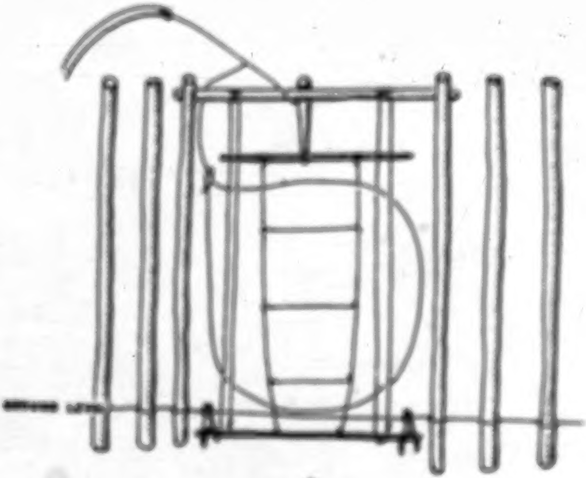
[End Plate 18]

3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Tao FT7

224



1



2

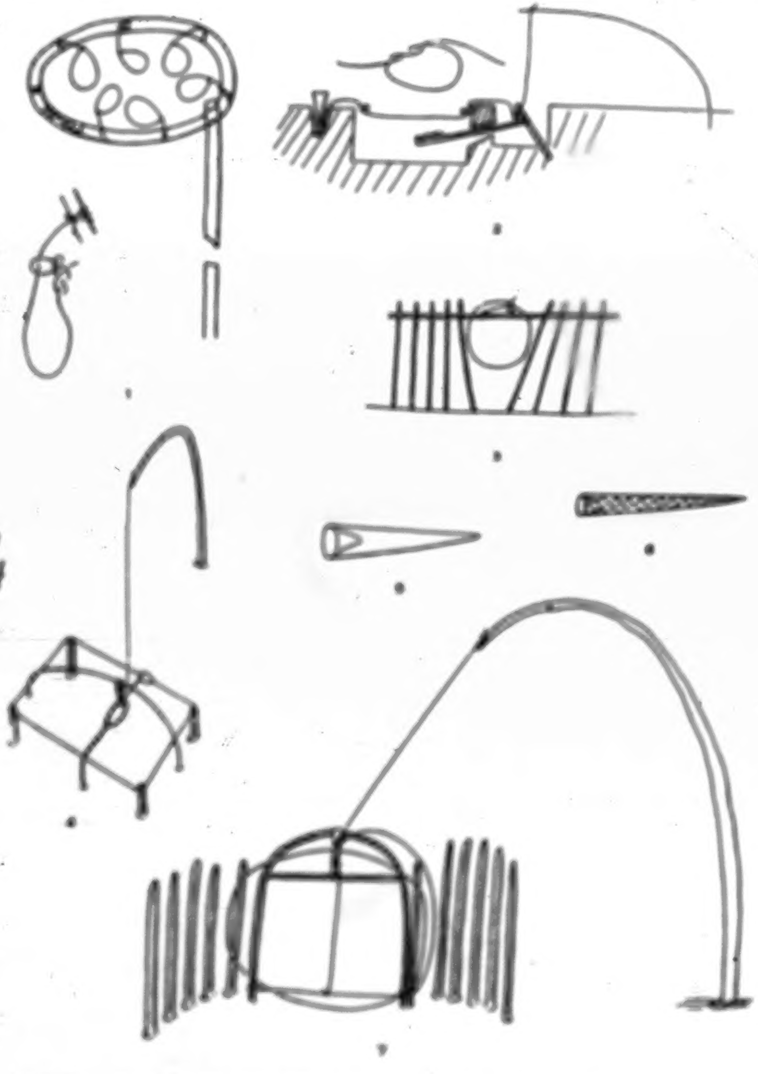
1. [illegible] 2. [illegible]

[End Plate 19]

3:Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

223

227
224



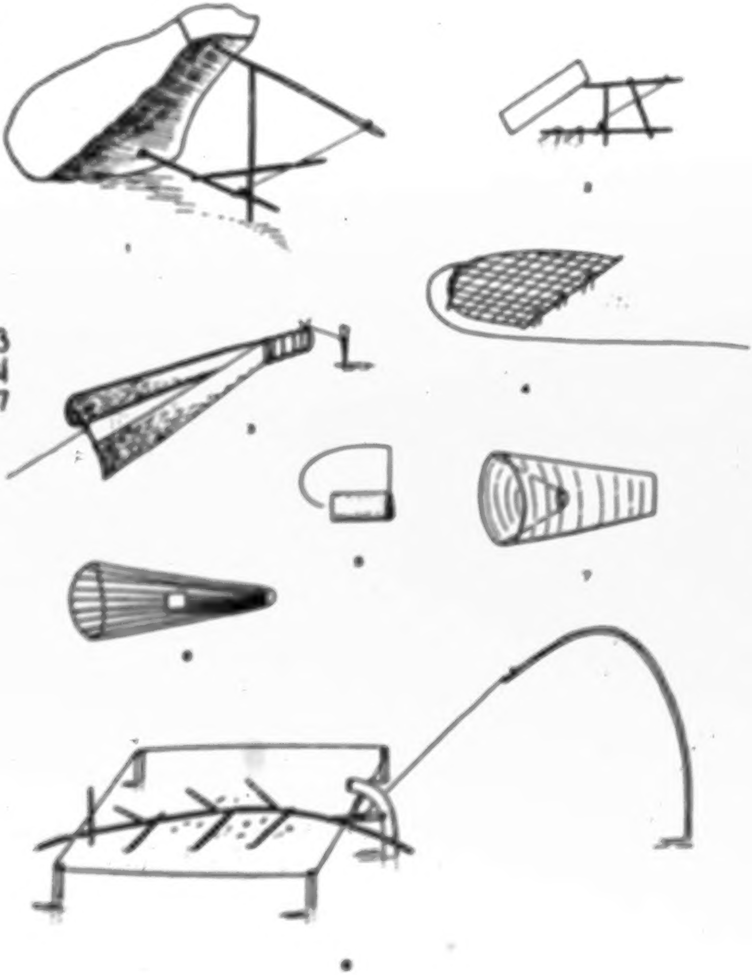
1-3, Bird traps; 4, Trap for ground birds; 5, Fish-trap; 6, Rat trap; 7, Trap for the water-rat

[End Plate 20]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

224

223
224
227



1, 2, 3, Traps for rats and mice; 4, 5, Bird traps; 6, 7, Fish traps; 8, Trap for [illegible].

[End Plate 21]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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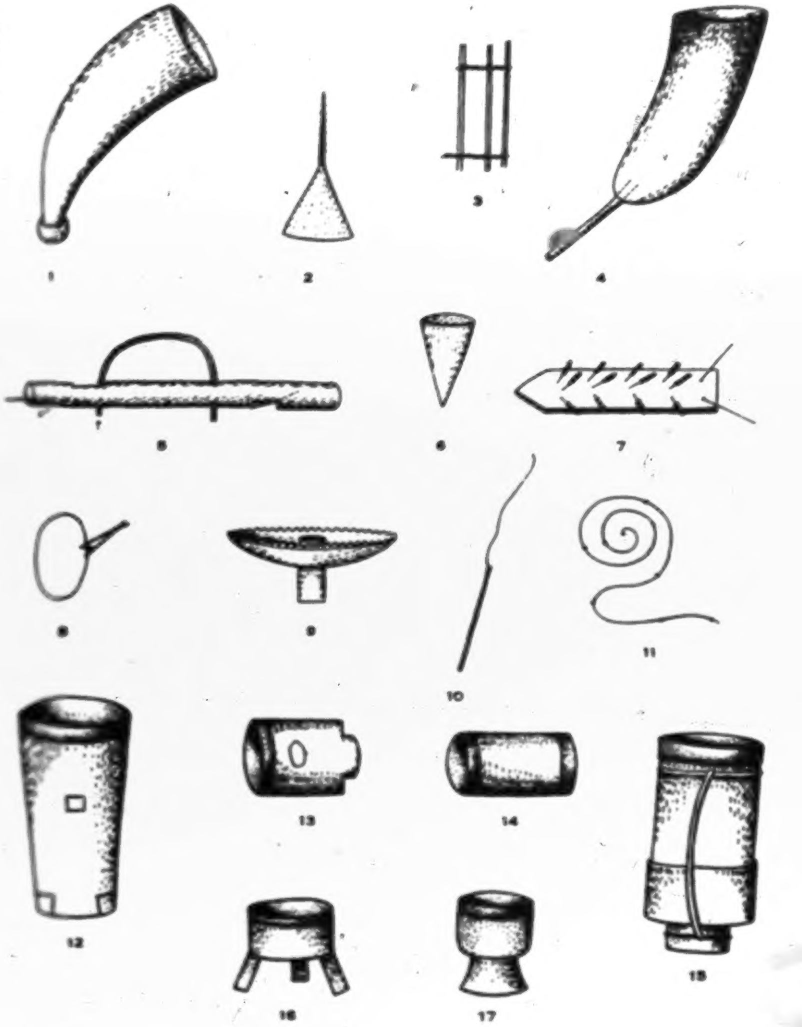
757
413

524

534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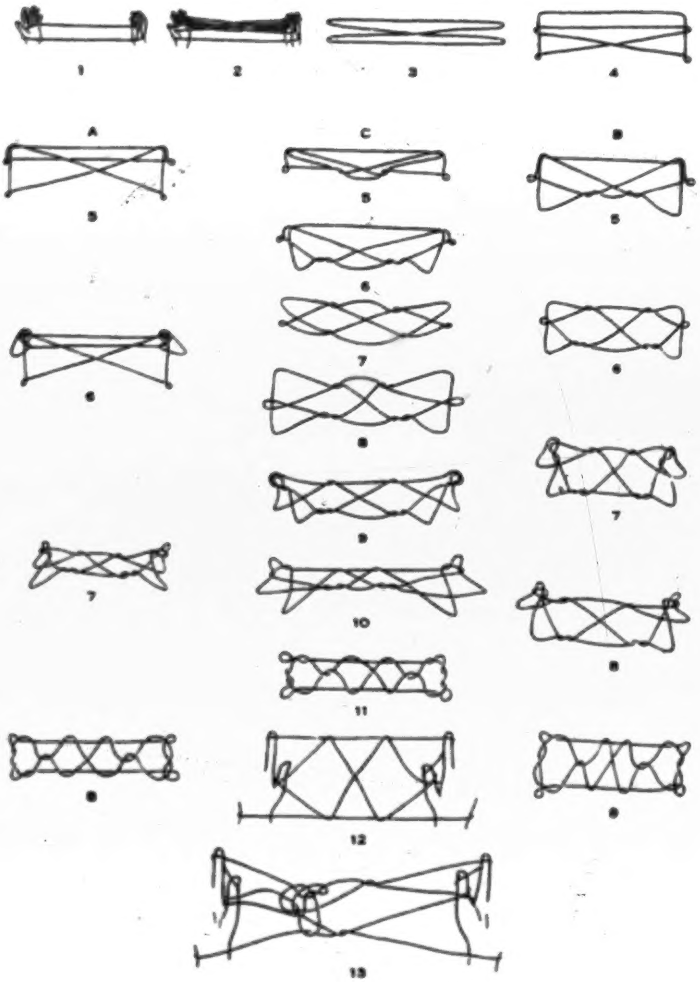
1, Cupping horn; 2, Surgical knife; 3, Splint; 4, Enema funnel; 5-11, Children's toys; 12-17, Drums

[End Plate 22]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

524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Cat's cradle

[End Plate 23]